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QUEDAH

CRUISE IN JAPANESE WATERS

THE FIGHT ON THE PEIHO

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BY

CAPTAIN SHERARD OSBORN, C.B.

ROYAL NAVY

Z. c. 4a

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QUEDAH

OR

STRAY LEAVES FROM A JOURNAL IN MALAYAN WATERS

"Sweet Memory! wafted by thy gentle gale,
Oft up the stream of Time I turn my sail,
To view the fairy haunts of long-lost hours,
Blest with far greener shades, far fresher flowers."

ROGERS.

Dedicated

TO

CAPTAIN WILLIAM WARREN,

ROYAL NAVY,

COMPANION OF THE MOST HONOURABLE ORDER OF THE BATH,

ETC. ETC.

AND FORMERLY COMMANDER OF H.M.S. HYACINTH,

WITH THE WARMEST FEELINGS OF

LOVE AND RESPECT,

BY HIS NAVAL NOMINEE AND MIDSHIPMAN,

SHERARD OSBORN.

PREFACE.

THE majority of naval officers are self-taught men : the world their book—the midshipman's dingy berth their "Alma Mater." The author is no exception to the rule ; and as his confession may be profitable to others, he makes the public sufficiently a confidant to say, that to a steady habit of journalising, noting down all he saw, read, or felt, and, in spite of defective spelling and worse grammar, still educating himself with his journal, he is mainly indebted for being able to fight his way up an arduous and emulative profession.

This fact he would fain impress upon the younger branches of the Royal Navy: it will cheer and encourage the humble youth who dons the blue jacket, relying on his head and hand to win those honours and advancement which, in the natural course of things, appear only to have been created for the influential ; and should the author have thrown some bright lights on the character of a people much maligned and misunderstood, he and

others will see that, in practising habits of observation, not only does the officer discover a source of amusement and instruction for himself, but that, at some time or other, he may be able to serve his fellow-man, or add, at any rate, in a humble way, to the fund of human knowledge.

The general reader will be best able to judge whether the author was justified in troubling them with this series of "Stray Leaves" from his journals. In transcribing them, the original character of the MS. has been adhered to as much as possible; and, as far as lay in his power, the author has identified himself with that sunny period of life in which the tale of the Blockade of Quedah was originally written.

Some apology is perhaps due to those persons whose names are introduced in the narrative; but forgiveness may be expected where no harm is said of them.

Aspiring to no lofty niche in the temple of literary fame, the author launches the good ship "Quedah," confident that, while telling his sailor's yarn in a sailor's way, he will be sure of sympathy and kindly criticism from his countrymen and countrywomen.

LONDON, *January* 1857.

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MAP OF THE
STRAITS OF MALACCA
TO ILLUSTRATE
"A JOURNAL IN MALAYAN WATERS"
BY
Capt.n Sherard Osborn, C.B. Off.rs Leg.n d'Hon.r
SIAM
ANDAMAN ISLANDS
NICOBAR ISLANDS
CAMBOJA
COCHIN CHINA
C. Varela
C. Padaran
Pulo Condore
Pulo Obi
Pulo Tantalam
Patani
Quedah
P.e Penang
P.e Tampat
P.e Brala
Howard Sh.
P.e Varela
Anan I.s
NATUNA I.s
Gr.t Natuna
Labong P.t
Kuli P.
P. Bintula
C. Sirik
CHINA SEA
INDIAN OCEAN
SUMATRA
Malacca
Singapore Str.t
Bintang
Rhio Str.t
Linga
Sinkep
Jaboang P.t
Natal
Mintao
Priaman
Padang
Seberoo
Sepora
North Peggy
South Peggy
Nias
Bencoolen
Pulo Nias
Tambelan I.s
Sambas
Pontiana
Carimata
Carimata Channel
Gilbert R.s
Billiton
Flat I.s
Sumpid R.
Salatan P.t
BORNEO
JAVA SEA
Strait of Sunda
Bantam
Batavia
Samarang
Sourabaya
Madura
Lubeck I.t
Passeroean
Besookie
Panjoewangie
South P.t
Engano I.
Longitude East of Greenwich
95
100
105
110
Engraved by Edw.d Weller, Duke Str. Bloomsbury.

QUEDAH.

CHAPTER I.

INDIA TWENTY YEARS AGO—SINGAPORE IN THE MONTH OF MAY—CHINESE JUNKS READY FOR SEA—PRAHUS—SINGAPORE BOATS—MINIATURE JUNKS—ORIGIN OF THE FORM OF JUNKS—SOUND REASON FOR JUNKS HAVING ONE EYE ON EACH SIDE—ARAB BOATS—SAMPAN-PUCHATS—SINGAPORE OF OLD—COMMERCIAL SINGAPORE—A SEPOY MARTYR—COURT-HOUSE—CHURCHES WITH STEEPLES—THE HYACINTH IN PORT.

On the 29th of May 1838, the Hyacinth, one of her Majesty's 18-gun ship-rigged corvettes, made her number to the signal-staff over the Governor's residence at Singapore, and, aided by the light airs peculiar to that latitude, flapped, rather than sailed, into the anchorage.

Twenty years have made vast improvements in that great emporium of the Eastern Archipelago; but even that most thoughtless of all human beings, a British midshipman—for such I then was—could not but remark the signs of vitality and active commercial enter-

prise which have since borne such good fruits. Perhaps this struck one all the more when coming from Ceylon and Hindostan, as we had done. There, it was true, the stranger from Europe could not but observe the air of English comfort and well-to-do which pervaded everything; but, somehow or other, it struck one as being wonderfully stagnated: the feeling that India was highly respectable, highly conservative, but very much mildewed and very much astern of the world, forced itself equally on the mind. Steam was still an agent which Indian quidnuncs questioned the success of in India, whatever it might do elsewhere. A solitary steamer, the Diana, was almost as much a curiosity to the European residents of the Straits of Malacca as she was to the Malays or Chinese; and poor Lieut. Waghorn, of our navy, had not yet enlightened Leadenhall by showing them the advantages of the Overland Route; indeed, it was nothing unusual even at that time, to receive letters five months old, and to consider one's self remarkably lucky in getting such late intelligence. Now, if a letter was as many weeks old, the merchant of Singapore would complain of the irregularities of the mail-boats.

However, it is with Singapore of the past I have to deal. Before the town, and at the distance of a mile from it, lay numerous huge junks, all glittering with white and red and green and black; their strange eyes staring with all the vacuity of a Chinaman, and apparently wondering how they would ever find their way to China. Thither they were now bound, with the strength of the south-west monsoon to blow them, "viénto a pópa," into the ports of the provinces of

Quantung and Fokien, whence they had come with clandestine emigrants, teas and silks and sugars, aided by the north-east monsoon of the previous winter. Many a goodly yard of Manchester cottons, and manufactures by the ton of English handicraft, now filled their capacious holds. On their mainmast-heads—which mast was, as usual, one long spar of stupendous girth—a most original arrangement in the shape of a dog-vane had been fixed, and from it long heavy silken streamers waved in the hot sky. Around these vessels floated "full many a rood" their long rattan cables, and I began almost to believe in the sailor's story of a Chinaman's anchor floating, when I saw their cables do so, and that the anchors of their largest vessels were constructed of wood. Unearthly cries, resembling swine in distress, issued from these ponderous arks, evidently meant for songs by their sailors, as they hoisted in the long-boats preparatory to going to sea.

Within these junks, in comparison with which we looked uncommonly small, were thousands of prahus of every size and form, stretching away into a narrow and shoal harbour which lies to the right of the town. They were traders from every port of the Archipelago; they had held a constant floating fair until very lately, and had disposed of their wares, completed return cargoes, and would likewise shortly depart for their different destinations. A merchant assured us that as many as 4000 of these vessels had arrived during the past monsoon; and but for the Dutch interference and jealousy, many more would visit Singapore yearly. Skimming about amongst these vessels, of curious forms and still more

curious rigs, there were hundreds of boats, in whose shapes the ingenuity of man seemed to be exhausted in inventing bodies, intended for propulsion through the water, which should differ as much as possible from each other. The Singapore sampan decidedly carried off the palm for beauty and fleetness, approaching, in sharpness of outline and the chances of drowning the sitters, to one of our above-bridge racing wherries on the Thames: two Malay rowers, each pulling a single broad-bladed oar, could in these sampans beat our fleetest gig. Then, in contradistinction to these, came the Chinese boat—from which the name "sampan" had, I believe, been derived—a perfect miniature junk, except that she had no deck; painted with ports along the side, and green, white, red, and black eyes in the bow. In the large ones of this description, which evidently belonged to the junks in the offing, the crews sometimes amounted to twelve or sixteen persons; but in those which belonged to Singapore, and merely served as a means of communication between the vessels and the shore—or in some cases were owned by fishermen of the place—the pigmy junk was invariably rowed by one man. In all, however, whether big Chinese sampans or small ones, the mode of rowing was alike. The descendants of Confucius, differing from the Europeans in that as in every other respect, instead of sitting down to their oars when rowing, always stand up; instead of being before their oars, they are always abaft them; and instead of the rowers facing aft, they always face forward. The form of the sampan and junk is, of course, that of the model, a slipper; and that not a lady's one either, but a good broad-toed,

broad-heeled, broad-soled one,—a good old-fashioned list slipper, in short. In case the reader should not have heard the legend upon the authority of which rests the fact that the slipper became the model for the Chinese shipbuilders and waterman's companies, I may as well tell him that, in the time of that wise monarch who walled off China from the rest of the world by land,—between two and three hundred years before the birth of Christ, and about the time Alexander the Great invaded Persia —I like to be particular about dates!—the Chinese shipbuilders gave a great deal of anxiety to the heaven-descended monarch by introducing clippers, copper-bottomed ships, and other abominable innovations — which quite threatened to subvert his wise intention of keeping the Flowery Land free from the contamination of strangers. One day the monarch, pressed down with anxiety as to how his plans for the suppression of navigation in general were to be carried out, sat in public divan at Pekin to hear, as was the wont in those days, the petitions of his people. There was a rush through the crowd, and a subject with a wooden model under his arm threw himself at the monarch's feet, rapping his head most devotedly upon the steps of the imperial throne; he was told to rise, and present his claim to heaven-born consideration.

The wretch was a shipbuilder of Southern China. He held a perfect model of a sharp-keeled vessel in his hands, such as barbarians two thousand years afterwards are seen to sail in, and implored his Majesty to patronise his improvement in the construction of imperial ships! Sacrilege of the deepest dye! Here, on the one hand,

sat Inexpressible Wisdom, who desired to make the earth stand still; on the other, Science, who wished to carry the people of the Flowery Land—their arts and peaceful discoveries, the printing-press, the magnet, the manufacture of silks and paper—to nations who employed their leisure hours in butchering one another; and maybe bring back their bloodthirstiness as return cargoes. It was horrible—most horrible!—but the monarch, though he sat cross-legged, was a merciful monarch: he grasped his slipper—for it was ready to his hand. "Avaunt, monster!" he shouted; and, with unerring aim, he hove his sacred slipper at the miscreant's head. "Avaunt!—from henceforth build all thy vessels on the model of that old shoe; and, ministers," said he, addressing the Court, "let an edict go forth that my slipper alone shall be the type of every floating thing in the Flowery Land; and"—lowering his voice to his prime-minister and favourite, the heaven-born deigned to close one eye and leave the other open as he muttered—"and it's devilish funny cruising at sea they will have, if they adhere to that model, O Fan-tse!" Since that day China has adhered steadily to the imperial fancy; and the royal act of winking is immortalised by the solitary eye which stares from the bow of their vessels; the other one is supposed to be shut; and that solitary eye says, as audibly as a wooden eye can say it,—

"It's devilish funny cruising we have at sea, O Fan-tse!"

Whilst cogitating profoundly, as jolly-boat midshipmen invariably do, on the profound wisdom of Chinese legislators, and wondering whether there are any more

like them in the world at present, two other queer craft appear on the scene.

The one is a boat built on English lines, though rather round and full in form; she is painted with alternate streaks of every colour upon this earth, and resembles, as they are reflected on the polished surface of the calm sea and again re-reflected upon her sides, a dying dolphin, though a very ugly one. In her the crew—dressed in frocks of divers gay colours—are rowing in a peculiar manner, by rising off their seats as they dip their oars in the water, and then, when they throw their weight on the oars, coming down upon their seats with a "sough!" which must have loosened the teeth in their heads. Yet they sang a wild and plaintive air, splashing the water about with their oars, and rapping down with an energy upon the thwarts which was charmingly original, and excited all my mirth—a mirth which the sitters, very obese-looking Parsees from Bombay, looked very indignant at; at least as much so as a ton of flesh can ever look. These boats came from some Arab vessels which adorned the anchorage—vessels called grabs, rigged somewhat like brigs, but having a length of bow which was perfectly astounding; indeed, in some of them the long taper of the bow was one-third the length of the whole vessel, and the bowsprit was entirely inboard.

The other strange boat which attracted my attention was a craft, perhaps 120 feet long, with twenty feet beam, looking like an overgrown Malay sampan, and pulling fifty or eighty oars: she resembled nothing so much in colour and appearance as some huge centipede scrambling over the sea. These were the sampan-puchats—fast

vessels, owned by the merchants of Singapore and manned by stalwart Chinese crews; they can outstrip the fleetest prahus, and are able to sail or pull with equal facility. By them an immense smuggling trade is done with the Dutch monopolists, and many a rich cargo of spices and gold-dust, antimony and pepper, repays the merchant of Singapore for his speculation in Sheffield and Birmingham goods.

We pull into the little creek or river of Singapore, which splits the good town in two, and here the same Babel-like character is equally thrust upon the observation.

I am, however, to tell of the sea, and shall leave to others the details of Singapore on shore—premising that a good description has yet to be written of that Queen of the Malayan Archipelago. It will suffice for a sailor's narrative to say that the whole town stands upon a level of no very great extent, which stretches along the base of gently-swelling hills, on the top of the highest of which stands Government House, tenanted by the present Sir Samuel Bonham—then governor of the Straits of Malacca—a most able civil servant of the Hon. East India Company, beloved by all classes, and always spoken of by the Malays with a mixed feeling of awe and affection, in consequence of the active part he took as a commissioner in the suppression of piracy in the Straits.

The creek separated Singapore into two distinct parts. The one was purely commercial, with its bazaar and marketplaces, its native town, and overflowing stores; a perfect commercial Babel, where, if a confusion of tongues

would induce men to cease building temples to the goddess of wealth, they would have taken ship and fled the spot. There was an energy, a life, a go-aheadism about everything that struck me much; everybody was in a hurry, everybody pushing with a will. The boatmen condescended to tout for passengers, and were blackguards enough, we heard, to occasionally rap the passengers over the head if they objected to pay them the fare—a proceeding the passengers in other parts of India often reverse by ill-treating the cowardly boatman: then came along a crowd of half-naked Chinese, staggering under some huge bale of goods, and working with a will which would put London porters or Turkish hammels to the blush; a crowd of black and oily Hindostanees, screeching like jackdaws over a stack of bags of sugar, and Arabs, Englishmen, Jews, Parsees, Armenians, Cochin-Chinese, Siamese, half-castes, and Dutchmen, each struggling who should coin dollars fastest; and as my coxswain, a Gosport boy, expressed himself, on his return from making some humble purchases—"Well, I thought they were a smart set on Common Hard, sir; but blest if they don't draw one's eye-teeth in Sincumpo!"

It was pleasing to turn from all these loud noises and strong smells of the commercial part of Singapore to the opposite side of the river, where, nestling amongst green trees, lay the residences of the wealthy European merchants; all was as dreamy, sleepy, quiet, and picturesque as any one could desire, and, I am bound to add, as hot; for there the bright equatorial sun was pouring down without shadow or breeze to take off its effects.

The sepoy sentry seemed to be frizzling in his leathern shako and hideous regimentals, and the sensation I felt on regarding his scarlet coat was that he might at any moment burst into flames. He was a military martyr lashed to a British musket instead of a stake. From that painful sight the eye instinctively sought repose upon a mass of cold dark-green foliage, against which the Court-House rose—a long building, possibly commodious, but decidedly of the Composite order of architecture. Within it, at stated periods, the British embodiment of the Goddess of Justice occasionally sat; whether in the classic pepper-and-salt coloured wig and black gown which that deity disguises herself in on our own dear island, I know not; but as Mars adheres in the East to leather stocks, pipeclay, and blackball, it is quite possible that Astræa does not abandon horsehair and black silk.

A pretty esplanade, and bungalows standing in pleasant detached patches of ground, stretched away until lost in the jungle and half-cleared country beyond; these, with a very commodious church, constituted the west-end of Singapore: those who built the church, built it to give sitting-room to those who attended; heathens that they were, they forgot the steeple! The good Bishop of Calcutta could not—like the Chinese emperor with his old shoe—throw a steeple at their heads; but he did more; he preached a crusade against churches without steeples, and laboured, preached, and subscribed to have steeples put to all Protestant churches so successfully, that steeples went up in the air wherever he had trodden; and I daresay by this time people in

Singapore, when they build churches, build steeples, as they do in modern England, for birds to build in, instead of aisles in which Christians may pray.

But what have I to do with the shore? Let us return to the Hyacinth, and busy ourselves, painting and polishing, until every one belonging to her begins to believe she is the most beautiful thing that ever floated. The first-lieutenant has holystoned the decks and scraped the masts, until both are as bright as a hound's tooth; the boatswain has been driven distracted by having to square and resquare the yards in consequence of some slight flaw being detected in their parallelism, and confides to me, as I steer him on board for the sixth time, that "He'll be d—d if he doesn't think them yards are enchanted, for, somehow, he used to square the Wapse's yards in five minutes;" and the carpenter has been "cutting out" the white streak here, and "cutting in" the black paint of the hull there, until he fancies he has brought the appearance of the old sloop to as near perfection as it is possible for mortal man to do.

CHAPTER II.

INTERNAL ECONOMY—FISHING-PARTIES—RUMOURS OF PIRATES—NEWS OF AN ILLANOON SQUADRON—A FLOATING MENAGERIE—AN ENCOUNTER WITH PIRATES—THE HYACINTH SEARCHES FOR PIRATES—A WAR-FLEET HEARD OF—QUEDAH POLITICS—WE ARE REQUIRED TO AID THE SIAMESE—RAPID EQUIPMENT OF PIRATE FLEET — THE MALAYS ARE WARNED OF THE COMING RETRIBUTION — CAPTAIN WARREN VISITS THE PIRATE FLEET — ARRANGEMENTS ARE MADE TO EQUIP A FLOTILLA — THE HYACINTH AND GUNBOATS OFF QUEDAH—MY GUNBOAT AND CREW—THE COXSWAIN'S EXCITABILITY—THE INTERPRETER'S APPEARANCE.

THE Captain has gone ashore to take up his quarters with the Governor; the second-lieutenant says it is his duty to be out of the ship as much as possible in harbour, and has gone to carry his theory into practice. Those of the subordinate officers who are blest with funds go on shore to hire horses, and try and ride their tails off; those that have not, calculate the number of days that must intervene before they have a right to inform their affectionate relatives, through the Navy Agents, that they are alive, and of course doing well, and are heard to assert that they will commemorate the cashing of that prospective bill by feats in horsemanship and gastronomy which would make both steeds and

poultry tremble could they only hear them. Being of those whose happiness was involved in a cheque not yet arrived at maturity, I stayed on board; and, by way of amusement, cricket and fishing parties were made up. Of the former I shall not speak; for any one can form an idea of what cricketing must be at a distance of sixty miles from the equator, the temperature at the time we played, 3 P.M., being about 84° in the shadiest part of Singapore. The seining-parties were decidedly the most pleasant and healthy. The plan of proceedings usually consisted in either of the two seniors of the midshipmen's berth obtaining permission from the first-lieutenant to make up a fishing-party; that done, there was a selection of volunteers from the seamen, marines, and boys, sufficient to man the cutter and jolly-boat. Into the latter boat the seine-poles and lines were carefully placed, and in the cutter a goodly store of biscuit and pork, tea, coffee, and a little private stock of spirits. A couple of good frying-pans and some lard were of course a necessary addition, in order that we might enjoy a supper upon fish fresh from the water—a gastronomic treat in all climates, but doubly so in the East Indies. After evening quarters, the fishermen repaired to their boats, clad in any old clothes they chose to put on; and just as evening closed in we would leave the ship, repair to some beautiful sandy beaches among the neighbouring islands, and there, through the early part of the night, fish away to our hearts' content, then muster round a roaring fire, enjoy a merry supper of fried fish, rashers of pork, and biscuit, washed down with tea or coffee made in a tea-kettle in gypsy fashion. The supper over, a glass of grog

per man would be produced from the officers' private store, pipes would be lit, songs would be sung, and yarns told, until the small hours warned us to return to our floating home and the next day's routine. These night-parties, in after days, led us into strange adventures and funny scenes: but I will not forestall my narrative; suffice it that at that time we were novices in the East, and all was charming, strange, and exciting.

Eagerly believing, eagerly listening to all that transpired around us, it may be supposed that nothing was more keenly sought for, by all on board the Hyacinth, than news about Malay pirates, those ogres, those bogies of the Archipelago; and just then two events happened, sufficient to satiate the appetite for the piratical for some time to come. The one was of the past, but still not long since. The Wolf, a sister-sloop that we had come out to relieve and send home, had twice fallen in with piratical squadrons.

On the first occasion, her boats, consisting of a pinnace and cutter, fell in with the pirates in a fine bay near Cape Romania, the extreme southern point of the Malayan peninsula. The prahus, some twelve or thirteen in number, fought the boats and escaped, the forces being very disproportionate. This fact sharpened our eagerness, and we naturally longed for an equally good opportunity,—an anxiety which was soon likely to be gratified, as the traders from Cochin-China and Siam had reported that an Illanoon squadron was cruising amongst the islands which lie on the eastern side of the peninsula, and intercepting prahus and junks bound to Singapore. The Wolf had been despatched after

these gentry, and the Diana steamer likewise, with a gunboat in tow, when the fact became undoubted of the existence of Illanoons. We awaited intelligence of their movements, and shortly afterwards the Diana arrived from a place called Tringanau, about sixty miles to the northward, and reported that an action had taken place, and the pirates, after fighting like heroes, had, it was supposed, retreated to their own country across the China Sea.

One fine morning our gallant captain sent off to express his astonishment that the arrival of H.M.S. Wolf had not been reported to him. I hardly fancy his astonishment was greater than our own, on the fact being ascertained to be true; for, although a vessel had been seen to come in, no one supposed she was a man-of-war. I fancy that it was the skill displayed in disguising the Wolf that had made her so successful in falling in with Malay pirates; and I must say the effort made to give her the appearance of a merchantman was carried to a wonderful extent; for even when on board of her it was difficult to realise the fact that a pennant flew overhead. She was a perfect floating menagerie. Baboons flew playfully at your legs; a loathsome orang-outang, or "man of the woods," crawled up to shake hands, and made you thank Providence that man, in the progressive theory, had at any rate advanced a stride or two above the creature before you; pigs and peccaries, sheep, fowls, a honey bear, and a black panther, formed a scene Wombwell would have gloated over; whilst Mr Gould, or any other ornithologist, might have found a week's work in classifying all the parrots, louries, and

screeching and whistling pets which added to the riot below.

However, we went on board the Wolf to hear about the pirates, and not to look at wild birds and beasts.

They told us that, one day whilst cruising off Tringanau, reports arrived of pirates being among the neighbouring islands. Two Company's gunboats with the pinnace and cutter were detached to seek them. The morning after the boats left, at daylight, six large prahus were seen attacking a junk about five miles to seaward of the ship. It was then a stark calm, and the Wolf was perfectly powerless to help the unfortunate junk, the gunboats and large boats being nowhere in sight. While in the greatest state of suspense, the steamer Diana was seen approaching from the south with a gunboat in tow. The Wolf immediately sent every available man and officer into the Diana to fight her guns, and she then steered for the junk, which was still making a manful resistance.

Seeing her approach, the prahus formed in line abreast, with their bows pointed towards her,—their guns, be it remembered, being always mounted forward and directed ahead. The prahus, six in number, were large-sized Illanoons, pulling two tiers of oars, and full of slaves and fighting-men. The action was a severe one, but the Diana could not run the risk of attempting to board them, and had to take care that they did not succeed in executing that manœuvre upon her, which they repeatedly attempted to effect. Many of their fighting men, creese in hand, were seen to leap into the water, in the hope of boarding

the steamer; one or two were cut down as they actually had hold of the boats towing astern of her; and, in short, though they suffered tremendously, none of the prahus surrendered, though one sank, and from her some twenty wretches were taken: the other five prahus escaped, and had eluded all further search by the Wolf or her boats.

Shortly after this event we sailed in the Hyacinth to seek the remnant of this piratical squadron. Our cruise was a delightfully interesting one in every respect, and although we picked up the trail of the pirates in the islands they had retreated to after the fight, we soon learnt from different sources that they had there destroyed three more of their prahus as being unfit for the voyage across the China or Sooloo Sea, in consequence of injuries received from the Diana's grape and canister, and then, embarking all their crews in the two sound vessels, they had borne up to return to their own homes—a sea voyage of about twelve hundred miles.

Returning empty-handed and somewhat disappointed to Singapore about the end of July, we were still further disgusted to learn that Malay war-prahus, to the number of forty, had made their appearance at the opposite and western end of the Straits.

They had, we learnt, fitted out on the Sumatran coast, at a place called Battu-putih, or "White Rocks," and carried two thousand fighting men: the pirates had taken advantage of our absence from the Penang station to capture from the Siamese Government the important province of Quedah.

This fleet of prahus, styled by us a piratical one, sailed under the colours of the ex-rajah of Quedah; and although many of the leaders were known and avowed pirates, still the strong European party at Penang maintained that they were lawful belligerents battling to regain their own.

The East India Company and Lord Auckland, then Governor-General of India, took, however, an adverse view of the Malay claim to Quedah, and declared them pirates, though upon what grounds no one seemed very well able to show.

Quedah had always, in olden time, been a Malay state, though possibly tributary alternately to either the Emperor of Siam or the Emperor of Malacca, as the power of either happened to be in the ascendant. After the Portuguese crushed the Malay Empire by the capture of Malacca in 1511, it is possible the Rajah of Quedah presented his "golden flower" to the Emperor of Siam, and in a way swore fealty to that monarch. We, however, seem to have heeded the suzerainty of the Siamese very little, when it served the Honourable Company's interest; for in 1786 we find them inducing the Rajah of Quedah, on his own sole right and responsibility, to sell us the island of Penang for the yearly sum of ten thousand dollars, an annuity upon which the descendants of the rulers of Quedah now exist in Malacca.

However, about the time we were engaged in the first Burmese war, and when it became highly desirable to keep the Siamese neutral in the fray, the Emperor of Siam chose to invade Quedah, and after committing unheard-of atrocities upon the Malay inhabitants, he estab-

lished his rule, and was confirmed in it by a treaty with us; with, I believe, an offensive and defensive alliance clause, so far as the respective boundaries of British and Siamese rule were concerned. The Malay chieftains considered themselves aggrieved, and lost no opportunity of harassing the Siamese, and the present attack had been patiently conspired and prearranged at Malacca. Money, arms, and prahus had been secretly collected at Battu-putih; and then the chiefs raised the old red flag of Quedah, and there was no lack of enterprising and disaffected spirits to join them.

A Prince Abdullah, a descendant of the ex-rajah, was the nominal head of the insurrection; he was a wild, dissipated young man, but had around him a very able body of chiefs or ministers, called "Tonkoos," men of undoubted courage, and sons of that race which had so manfully struggled against Alphonso Albuquerque and his powerful fleets in the heyday of Portugal's glory. Their plan of operations was ably laid down by a Tonkoo Mahomet Said; and owing to the absence of ourselves—the Diana, Wolf, and gunboats—there was no one to interfere with its successful execution.

The Siamese, however, knew perfectly well how to appeal to a treaty when it involved their own interests; and a deputation from Bankok soon waited upon the Governor of the Straits of Malacca, calling upon the British to aid them in asserting their legal yet unjust rights. British good faith to one party had to be supported at the sacrifice of British justice towards the other; and, as usual, the unfortunate Malays were thrown overboard, their rights ignored, themselves de-

clared pirates, and their leader a rebel escaped from British surveillance.

The Malays had, I have before said, calculated their operations admirably. Their fleet was fitted out on the Sumatran shore, near the province of Acheen; arms, powder, and other stores were liberally, but covertly, supplied from European as well as native traders at Penang, the payment to be hereafter made in rice and other products of the rich lands of Quedah. In the height of the south-west monsoon, when the bad-weather season prevails along the western seaboard of the Malayan peninsula, and the inhabitants naturally fancied themselves secure from such a visit, the Malay Tonkoos, or chiefs, watched for a good opportunity, crossed the Straits to a secure place, not many miles from Pulo Penang, there concentrated their forces, and then like hawks pounced upon their prey. Dashing at once into the rivers with their light vessels, they stockaded the mouths; and knowing that at that season our men-of-war could not approach close enough to injure them, and that open ships' boats could not live off the coast, the Malays felt that they had six months before them to establish and fortify their positions before the "white men" could commence operations, or the Siamese troops advance from Bankok.

Knowing this, and feeling we had been perfectly checkmated, the Hyacinth was sent to warn the Malays of the coming retribution, and to make such observations as might serve for the forthcoming season of operations.

Leaving Penang in September, we first proceeded to the town of Quedah, lying at the mouth of a river of the

same name. On an old Portuguese fort which commands the town and entrance to the river the Malayan colours were flying, and Tonkoo Mahomet Said was found to be in command. Captain Warren had a conference with that chief and Prince Abdullah, in which they were duly warned to abstain from a course which must bring down upon them the wrath of the all-potent Company, and pardon was promised in the event of their doing so immediately. The chief made out a very good case, as seen from a Malay point of view, and nothing but a sense of duty could prevent one sympathising in the efforts made by these gallant sea-rovers to regain their own. "Tell the Company," said Prince Abdullah, with that theatrical air and gesture so natural to the well-born Asiatic, "that we shall brave all consequences we have reconquered Quedah, which was, and is, ours by a right which no law can abrogate; and so long as we can wield a sword or hold a spear, we will maintain the heritage descended from our forefathers!" No prahus were in sight at this place; and it was not until after a long and arduous search amongst dangerous and intricate channels, at a tempestuous season of the year, that we discovered the Malay fleet, they being then at a place called Trang, on the northern boundary of the province of Quedah. Here, as at the capital, the ship could not approach the coast, and Captain Warren had to throw himself amongst the Malays, in an open boat, with some eight or ten English seamen. Passing a shallow entrance to a river, which was carefully stockaded and flanked with gingal*

* A gingal is a long and heavy wall-piece, much used by Asiatics, and very formidable in their hands.

batteries, Captain Warren, after a short pull, found himself amongst a formidable fleet of fifty prahus, carrying guns and swivels or culverins, and with crews varying from twenty to fifty men.

A guard of 100 armed men marched down to receive the Rajah Lant, or sea-king, of the British Queen, and with great ceremony and state conducted him to their admiral or leader, a noted old pirate named Datoo Mahomet Alee, Datoo being his title as chieftain or lord.

Had treachery been so common as it is generally supposed to be amongst the much-vilified Malays, assuredly it would have been an easy task to put to death the British captain and his boat's crew, for they were fairly in the lion's den, and the bearers of a hostile message, apart from Mahomet Alee knowing full well that a price had been fixed for his capture as a felon by the Company. Yet, on the contrary, they behaved with the utmost generosity and civility, listened respectfully to the warning given of future punishment, and even here, as at Quedah, allowed a proclamation to be posted up, calling on all these pirates to disperse.

The conference over, Captain Warren learnt that the Malay attack had been successful on every point, and, apart from organising the means of preserving their hold of the province, they intended in the coming monsoon to assail the Siamese in such strength as to prevent their detaching a force to reconquer Quedah. To a wish expressed by Captain Warren that they would come out and have a fair fight in open water, Mahomet Alee replied, that although he had never fought a British man-

of-war, he was one who could boast of having beaten off a man-of-war's boats; and nothing would give him greater pleasure than trying to do so again, if Captain Warren would come to fight him in the spot he then was. With such mutual expressions of chivalrous desire to meet again, the Hyacinth returned to report proceedings to the Governor of the Straits of Malacca.

During the month of November we went to Singapore to arrange a plan of operations in conjunction with the Siamese, emissaries from his golden-tufted majesty having been sent there for that purpose. Singapore was chosen as the place of outfit for the flotilla, because the Malays were less likely to glean information of our plans there than they would undoubtedly have been from their agents and sympathisers at Penang.

It was arranged that directly the north-east monsoon, or fine-weather season, commenced, the British Government were to closely blockade the coast of Quedah, whilst a Siamese army of thirty thousand men marched down to reconquer the province; and we were to treat as pirates all armed prahus fallen in with.

The Hyacinth, besides her own boats, had lent to her for this service three lugger-rigged and decked gunboats, named respectively the Diamond, Pearl, and Emerald, or Nos. 1, 2, and 3. They were all manned by Malays, and the Diamond was commanded by a half-caste native gentleman in the Company's service. A small steamer, the only one that at that time had been seen in those waters, was available in case of necessity; and the very terror inspired by the Diana—or "fire-ship," as the Malays called her—was a host in itself.

When all was ready, we suddenly left Singapore; and giving Penang as a rendezvous, the corvette and gunboats made the best of their way there, completed water and provisions, and gleaned all necessary information, prior to starting for Quedah; off which place the Hyacinth anchored on December 7th, with the gunboats around her.

Great was the delight and excitement through the ship when the fact of the boats being about to leave for months, manned and armed, came to our knowledge. The pinnace and cutter were got out and provisioned. All our lieutenants having either gone home on promotion or died, the command of the boats generally fell to a mate,—Mr George Drake, in the pinnace; the senior midshipman, Mr Barclay, had the cutter; whilst the two gunboats fell respectively to Mr Peter Halkett and myself.

Not a little proud of my command, at an early hour on the 8th I found myself on board the Hon. Company's gunboat Emerald. She was a fine wholesome boat, about forty-eight feet long, carrying two large lugger-sails, and with a crew of twenty-five stout Malays, besides a serang,* or boatswain. Completely decked over, she carried in her bow an 18-pounder carronade on a traversing carriage, and a brass 6-pounder gun on a pivot upon the quarterdeck; and had, moreover, an ample store of all arms on board.

My swarthy crew received their new commander in the height of Malay *tenue*. The gayest pocket-handkerchiefs tied round their heads, and their bodies wrapped

* Serang is a native term for boatswain.

in the tasteful cotton plaid of the country, called a sarong, and their bare legs and sinewy arms, with the warlike creese, gave them the air of as many game-cocks. Not a soul of them could speak a word of English; and until I could master enough Malay to be understood, my sole means of communication lay through an individual who introduced himself to me as "Jamboo, sir!—interpreter, sir!" "And a very dirty one too," I mentally added.

The pantomime over of passing a small valise containing my kit into a little cabin, which I saw abaft the mainmast, I desired Jamboo to direct the serang to get under way and follow the pinnace, for she was already pulling in for Quedah fort; whilst the Hyacinth, spreading her wings, was running northward for another river called the Parlis. The crew in a trice ran the anchor to the bows, and got out the sweeps,* as there was no wind, and pulled so heartily as to show me that we had, at any rate, the legs of all our consorts. Checking the zeal of my serang, who, standing amongst the rowers, was exciting them by word and gesture to outstrip the senior officer, I dropped astern into my place, and proceeded to make myself acquainted with my strange shipmates and vessel.

The interpreter Jamboo's history was a short one. He was one of that numerous class who do not know their own fathers. His mother, who was a Burmese woman of Moulmein, averred that a British officer was

* Sweep is a nautical term applied to large oars used in heavy vessels; for instance, those used in barges are "sweeps," properly speaking.

entitled to the honour of the parentage, though Jamboo, with a smile, said, "I don't know, sar; she say so!" an assertion I was quite ready to believe. A half-caste he undoubtedly was, and, as such, passed for a Portuguese! although his only reason for so saying was, that the people of that country were about as dark as himself, and that Jamboo, finding himself without a religion as well as a father, had, *faute de mieux*, become a Roman Catholic, his faith being strongly mixed up with his poor mother's Buddhism and the wild superstitions of his Malayan companions. His face, of a dark olive colour, was perfectly beautiful; his figure, although effeminate, was graceful and lithe to a degree; his hands and feet might have served Phidias as a model; and he was not wanting in intelligence. Weak and nervous in temperament, he was as obedient as a child, and it was painful to witness his cringing, fawning manner.

Jamboo's account of my worthy crew was somewhat startling: the majority of them had, I learnt, at various times been imprisoned in Singapore jail as pirates, the most notorious scamp being my serang, Jadee. "Pleasant company!" I ejaculated as I scanned the rogues, who, seated along the deck on either side, were throwing themselves back with a shout at every stroke of their "sweeps," and displaying twenty-five as reckless, devil-may-care countenances as any equal number of seamen ever exhibited. The serang, Jadee, was, to my astonishment, standing on the main hatch, with a long Illanoon creese in his hand, which he waved as he gave utterance to a series of expressions, uttered with frantic energy and rapid pantomime, stopping every now and then to

allow his crew to express their approval of what he said by a general chorus of Ugh ! which sounded like a groan, or an exulting shout of Ya ! ya ! ya ! which was far more musical. "He is only telling them what fighting and plunder are in store for them," said Jamboo, "and pointing out the certainty of victory while fighting with white men on their side, mixing it up with descriptions of revellings they will have when this war is over."

CHAPTER III.

COMMENCE TO BLOCKADE QUEDAH FORT — JADEE'S IMAGINARY FIGHT WITH A TONKOO—MY MALAY COXSWAIN'S APPEARANCE —HIS ATTIRE AND CHARACTER—JADEE'S PIRATICAL PROPENSITIES—ESCAPES IMPRISONMENT BY HANGING A MAN—QUEDAH FORT AND TOWN — THE APPEARANCE OF THE ADJACENT COUNTRY — A WET NIGHT—MY CREW — JADEE'S WANT OF BIGOTRY—PRIMITIVE MODE OF EATING.

THE pinnace, with the Pearl and Emerald, soon reached the shallow bar which lies across the Quedah river, a feature common to every river on this side of the Malayan peninsula, and doubtless occasioned by the action of the south-west monsoon against the natural course of the rivers, causing the sediment to be deposited at their entrances, instead of being carried out into the deeper parts of the sea. The fort of Quedah hoisted its colours, and armed men showed themselves along the battlements; but we merely placed ourselves in line across the entrance of the river, out of gunshot, and anchored to commence the blockade. The north-east monsoon, which is the fine-weather season of this coast, had scarcely set in yet, and flying showers, with occasional squalls, promised a wet and cheerless night. Rain-awnings were spread at once, and after every preparation had been made for a sudden action with war-

prahus, I sat down with Jamboo, and my serang, Jadee, to glean information and pick up Malay. To my inquiry, through the interpreter, as to the opinion Jadee held of the line of conduct likely to be pursued by the occupants of Quedah, he assured me that the Malays would never voluntarily fight the "white men, *Orang-putihs*," as we, of all Europeans, are styled *par excellence*. It was quite possible, if we were very careless, that they would try and capture Englishmen as hostages for their own safety; and that, by way of inspiriting his men, a Malay chief might, if he found one of the gunboats alone, which was manned by Malays, fight her, in the hopes of an easier capture than they would find in the pinnace. The very prospect of such a piece of good fortune seemed to arouse all Jadee's recollections of bygone forays and skirmishes; for no sooner had Jamboo told him that I only hoped Tonkoo Mahomet Said might take it into his head to try the experiment upon the Emerald, or "Numero Tega,"* as she was called by Jadee, than my serang sprang to his legs, and shouted, quivering with passion, for Campar! Campar soon came: Campar being a swarthy giant, who did the double duty of armourer and carpenter.

In reply to some order he dived below, and brought up a thick quilted red vest, without arms, which the excited Jadee donned at once, girded up his loins, gave his head-dress a still more ferocious cock, and then baring his arms, with a long Illanoon creese in one hand and a short "badi" or stabbing-knife in the other, he enacted

* "Tega" is Malay for "Three;" the Malays preferred calling the vessel by her number, instead of by her name of Emerald.

a savage pantomime of a supposed mortal fight between himself and Mahomet Said, in which he evidently conquered the Tonkoo; and finished off, after calling him, his mother, sisters, and female relations, all sorts of unseemly names, by launching at him, in a voice of thunder, his whole stock of English: "Ah! you d—d poul! come alongside!" poul, or fool, being supposed to be something with which the white men emphatically cursed their enemies.

Amused beyond measure, though somewhat differently from my crew, who, holding Jadee in the greatest awe, crowded aft and looked on, firmly believing that Tonkoo Mahomet Said would be so treated should his enterprise lead him to combat the noted Jadee, I quietly told him that I only trusted he would do as well if the real fight ever came off, and meantime would dispense with such a performance, especially as the row he made had caused "Numero Tega" to be hailed from the pinnace to know if anything was amiss. This piece of advice Jadee took in such good part, that he constantly rehearsed the pantomime for my amusement whenever he saw me low-spirited or in want of occupation.

Jadee informed us that his cognomen amongst the people of Singapore, and white men generally, was Jack Ketch, a nickname he pronounced so clippingly that it sounded not unlike his real one: and from Jamboo I heard the following history of my redoubted serang; but, previous to repeating it, let me introduce the hero.

Jadee stood about five feet seven inches in height; his colour was of a light brown. His broad shoulders, small waist, and fine hips, with well-formed arms and

legs, covered with muscles in strong relief, denoted great strength and activity. His delicate yet far from effeminate hands and feet were but little reconcilable, to an Englishman's ideas, with a man who had lived from the cradle by the sweat of his brow. A square, well-formed head, well placed on a strong, nervous neck, completed the man. The countenance, although that of a pure Malay, had nothing so repulsive about it as people generally suppose; the cheek-bones were high, and the face somewhat square, but his eyes were good and expressive, without being either deep-set or with bloodshot eyeballs, as the regular "property Malays" of novel-writers usually are represented. A good nose and forehead, with a massive but beardless chin, gave much character to the face of Jadee, and his short black hair, brushed up on end, with a sort of rollicking, laughing air about the man, required nothing to fill up the picture of a Malayan buccaneer. Jadee was a beau withal. Round his waist, and falling to the knees like a Highland kilt, he wore a circular piece of cotton plaid, of a small blue-and-white pattern; stiff with starch, it stuck out, and half hid in its folds his handsome creese, a weapon never from a Malay's side. Over one shoulder, and across to the opposite hip, hung in an easy, jaunty manner another sarong of brighter hues, generally red and yellow tartan; it served as a covering to the upper part of the body when necessary, or, wrapped round the arm, acted as a shield in a skirmish. An ordinary red cotton handkerchief served as a head-dress, great coquetry being shown in the mode of wearing it. It was in the first place starched until almost as stiff as pasteboard,

then folded across; two ends were tied on one side of the head in a jaunty knot, whilst the others stuck up or waved about in a very saucy manner. A mouthful of cēre leaf, Penang nut, and chunam, with a small quid of tobacco stuck under the upper-lip, completed the appearance of Jadee. Poor fellow! he was generous to a fault, and thoughtless as a child; and when I afterwards came to know him well, I often thought how strong the similarity was between the disposition of him and his companions and the majority of our untutored seamen.

He was by birth a "Batta," or else had been stolen, at an early age, and carried off by that race from some sea-coast village. These Battas inhabit the hill-country of Sumatra, and are reputed cannibals—at least, such is the charge brought against them by neighbours.

Jadee, whilst still a youth, happened to accompany a party of Battas who visited the pepper plantation of a sea-coast chieftain, for some hostile, and, I fear, no reputable purpose; the result was, that in a skirmish which took place Jadee was captured, and as a slave, entered upon a different career to that of living amongst the branches of trees and eating fellow-men.

Some Sooloo slave-dealers and pirates visited the district in which Jadee was detained, and he was exchanged for various commodities that they disposed of to his master. Made at first to row and bale water out of their prahus, he gave such proofs of courage and address that in a short time they advanced him to the rank of a fighting man. Jadee, however, did not like his masters, although he had an uncommon degree of respect for their enterprise and skill as sea-rovers; and after some years

of strange adventures against the Chinese, Spaniards, and Dutch—the latter, of whom he never spoke of without execrating the memory of their mothers—he escaped, and took service under the Rajah of Jehore, or some chief who sailed prahus from the neighbourhood of our then youthful colony of Singapore.

After a little active service, our hero found himself in possession of a perfect fortune in hard dollars and sycee silver; and to spend it in the most approved manner, proceeded to Singapore. To take unto himself a fresh wife was an easy task for such a gallant; and Jadee kept open house in the neighbourhood of Singapore, in one of those neat native huts which may still be seen raised upon piles, although far enough from the water.

The money flew fast, and, sailor-like, Jadee soon found himself compelled to take to the sea for a subsistence. For a few years he led a checkered career: plenty one day — opium, curry, and rice, and wives galore; then pulling at an oar like a galley-slave to win more. At last the white men spoilt his career. An expedition in which Jadee was engaged was attacked by a British man-of-war, and suffered a severe defeat. Jadee never bargained for fighting them: anything with a dark skin—let him be the Old Gentleman himself—he felt himself a match for. A Dutchman he did not mind, and a Spaniard he had often seen run; but the Orang-putihs—there was no charm, not even from the Koran, which had ever been efficacious against pirates so mighty as they. Jadee had sailed with distinguished Malay "Rajah Lauts," or Kings of the Sea, but their glory paled before the "Rajah Lauts" of the white men; they were indeed

rovers whom Malay men might envy, but might not imitate.

Driven with many of his companions from following up their profession in a wholesale way, Jadee and one or two roving spirits struck up a new business. They bought a fast-pulling sampan, lived at Singapore, and apart from an occasional honest fare, used at nights to waylay the market-boats and Chinese petty traders, and frighten them into paying black-mail. Even this came to an end; for one day, when asleep in his sampan, Jadee was captured by a dozen Chinese, who carried him before the authorities, and swore, by all they could swear by, that he had been caught in an act of piracy. Jadee was fairly frightened; he knew the English had a rapid way of hanging up his countrymen, and vowed to himself that he would adopt the *white men's* mode of living, if he escaped this present peril.

The judge, although a severe man, was a just one, and happily in this case suspected the veracity of the Chinese. Jadee was sent to jail to ruminate over his evil practices, and had remained there some time, when a reward was offered to any one who would hang a Chinese murderer, the executioner having absconded. Our friend was glad to earn his liberty so easily, the more so that a Chinaman was to be the unfortunate to be operated upon.

The murderer was duly hung, and Jadee, or Jack Ketch, was free. Finding "the Company" too strong for him, Jadee wisely determined to enlist under their colours. He turned from pirate to pirate-catcher, and a more zealous, intelligent servant Governor Bonham, or

the Touhan Besar,* did not possess. Jadee soon brought himself into notice, and with one exception, on an occasion when a jealous husband thrust a spear fourteen times into Jadee's body for certain attentions to his *cara sposa*, he had maintained an unblemished character. Such was his history.

Towards evening the rain ceased and the clouds cleared away, enabling us to see the place we had to starve into subjection.

Our gunboats lay at the distance of about twelve hundred yards from the mouth of the river, across which a stout stockade had been formed, leaving only one narrow outlet, and there the Malays had stationed a look-out-man to give an alarm in case of necessity. Within the stockade, upon the north bank of the river, stood the town and fort of Quedah.

The latter was a rectangular work built of stone, and said to have been constructed in the days when the Portuguese were in the zenith of their glory. The parapet was now sadly dilapidated, and armed with a few rusty guns; whilst on a bastion which, at one of the angles, served to flank the sea face of the works and command the river entrance, several long formidable-looking pieces of cannon were pointed threateningly at us. Beyond the fort, and on the same side of the river, a long continuation of neat-looking thatch-built houses constituted the town, and off it lay numerous trading prahus and several *topes*, a Malayo-Chinese vessel peculiar to the Straits of Malacca. A dense and waving jungle of trees skirted round the town and fort of Que-

* "Touhan Besar," the great chief or officer.

dah, and spread away on either hand in a monotonous line of green. The country, which was said to be particularly rich in the interior, was extremely flat towards the sea-coast; and the only thing that broke its sameness was the remarkable hill which, under the name of Elephant Mount, rose above the jungle like an island from the sea. Far-distant ranges of hills, the backbone of the peninsula, stretched, however, as a background to the scene. Slowly the setting sun tinged their peaks with rosy and purple tints, and then they gradually sank into darkness as the evening mists gathered strength along the seaward edge of the jungle, and, acted upon by light airs, sailed slowly along like phantoms: it was then night, with a dew-laden atmosphere and a starlit sky.

The English seamen in the pinnace loaded the air with noise, if not with melody, by singing their sailor-songs; and the Malays, in their own peculiar way, amused themselves by singing extempore love-songs, to the melancholy accompaniment of a native drum played upon by the hand. Gradually these sounds ceased, men and officers sought the *softest* planks, and, clad in blanket frocks and trousers, lay down to sleep; and the first day of the Quedah blockade was over. During the night it rained hard, and the wet, in spite of our awnings being sloped, began to encroach upon the dry portions of the deck. I heard my men moving about; but desirous of setting an example of not being easily troubled with such a discomfort as a wet bed, I kept my place, and was not a little pleased to see Jadee bring a mat called a *kajang*, and slope it carefully over me, evidently

thinking I was asleep, and then the poor fellow went away to rough it as he best could. And this man is a merciless pirate! I thought; and I felt a friendship for my Malay coxswain from that moment which nothing will ever obliterate. With early dawn all were awake, and shortly afterwards the usual man-of-war operations of scrubbing and cleaning commenced, Jadee exhibiting as much energy amongst buckets and brooms as if such peaceful articles were the only things he knew how to use. Leaving him to do first-lieutenant's duty, I perched myself—I was but a lad of seventeen—upon the pivot-gun, and, as the different men of my crew came in sight, asked their names and characters of the interpreter. Jamboo's account of them was, to say the least of it, very unsatisfactory. One was a notorious pirate of Sumatra, another of Tringanau; those that were not pirates, Jamboo vowed, had fled from Java, or Acheen, for acts of violence of one sort or another. Their looks were not in their favour; and walking with the peculiar strut of Malay seamen, I could not but repeat Falstaff's soliloquy: "Nay, and the villains march wide betwixt the legs, as if they had gyves; for indeed I had most of them out of prison!"

"The fears, however, of the redoubted Jamboo had much to do with the characters he gave the poor fellows; and I afterwards discovered it was rather his opinion of what they must have been, than what they really had been. I was debating in my mind how my messing was to be carried on, in a vessel manned with Mahometans, where pork was an abomination and myself an unclean animal and an infidel, when Jadee, with the most grace-

ful bow he could muster, came to announce that the ship's company's rice and fish were cooked, and that in a few minutes *our* curry and rice would be ready. Through the interpreter, I expressed a hope that he would not depart from any religious opinions as to feeding with a Christian, because I was set in authority over him. To which the good fellow made a very neat answer, in a very modest way, that he was a servant of the same Great Rajah as the *white officer*, and if I did not consider it beneath my dignity to eat out of the same dish as an Orang Malayu, it was not for him to do so.

This difficulty over, we sat down cross-legged to our breakfast—a mountain of snow-white rice with a curried fowl. I was at first very awkward in the use of my right hand as a substitute for spoon and fork, etiquette not allowing the left hand to be used; but I soon learnt how to pick up the rice, press it gently together between the extended fingers, and then, by means of the thumb, to slip what was taken up into my mouth; a drink of pure water finished the repast, and then the ever-useful Campar appeared, with water and towel for us to wash our hands and mouth. We had only two meals a-day—breakfast at about seven or eight o'clock, and dinner at three P.M.—rice and salt fish, or rice and curry, being the constant fare.

CHAPTER IV.

THE BLOCKADE RENDERED MORE STRINGENT — THE BOUNTING ISLANDS—MY CREW KEEPING HOLIDAY— "HYACINTHS" POISONED WITH GROUND-NUTS—WE DISCOVER WILD-BEES' NESTS—ARRANGEMENTS MADE FOR ROBBING THE HIVES—THE BEES QUIT THEIR HIVES AND SETTLE ON ME—NO HONEY—A MALAY DOCTOR—THE KORAN AND CHUNAM REMEDY FOR BEE-STINGS.

THE first week or ten days was sadly monotonous: we had to be very guarded in our movements, as the policy intended to be pursued by the enemy had not developed itself, and we were yet ignorant of the force of armed prahus which they might possess up the river; but I was not idle, and, under Jadee's tuition, was fast learning the simple and beautiful language of Malaya. The interest taken by my serang in repeating over for my information the Malay for every article or object upon which he saw my attention fixed for a moment, was a pretty convincing proof of the anxiety he entertained for our being able to understand one another without Jamboo's assistance.

About the middle of December we had reason to believe that small prahus escaped out of the river or entered it at top of high water, by keeping close in to the jungle; and as we had ascertained that there was

deep water inside the bar, it was determined to cross the bar at night, directly the tide rose high enough to allow us to do so, and to remain close off the stockade until the tide again fell, so as to compel us to retreat rather than risk an action with fort and war-prahus combined. This measure gave great umbrage to "Tonkoo Mahomet Said," who sent to warn us that we might get fired into by accident during the night, if we persisted in such a manœuvre. The reply to this threat was a promise of returning the compliment if any such accident did occur; and after a while we found the people of Quedah submitted quietly to this stricter blockade, and it was evident that they were reserving their fighting qualities for the Siamese army, of which we only knew that it was to co-operate with us; how, or when, none could guess. The want of wood and fresh water in our little squadron obliged the senior officer to detach me to a group of islands, about twenty miles distant, in quest of some; and this job I had regularly to execute every tenth day or so. The three islands are known under the names of the Bounting Group; the Malays, with a playful fancy, having, in the outline of one of them, seen a resemblance to a woman in that "state in which ladies wish to be who love their lords." That island is called "Bounting," and, in carrying out the idea, the next is named "Pangail" or "Call!" and the other is "Bedan," the "Accoucheur!"—a strange nomenclature, but the joke of which was evidently a great source of fun to my scamps.

Having, then, no small boats, our mode of procuring wood and water was primitive enough; the gunboat used to be anchored in a convenient position, and then

all hands, myself included, jumped overboard, swam ashore with casks and axes, and spent the day filling the former, cutting wood, bathing, and washing our clothing. It was a general holiday; and, like seamen of our own country, my Malays skylarked, joked, and played about with all the zest of schoolboys; and I observed with no small pleasure, that in their practical jokes or witticisms there was none of that grossness or unbecoming language which European sailors, be their nation what it may, would assuredly have indulged in—a state of things which I imputed to the knowledge they each had of the other's quickness of temper, and the moral certainty of an appeal to the creese should an insult be intentionally given. The Bountings, though clothed with trees and the rankest vegetation of the East, were, like many other islands of the Malayan Archipelago, unproductive of a single wild fruit or vegetable capable of sustaining life. If the wild cocoa-nut tree or plantain had ever grown there, they had been eradicated to prevent pirates procuring refreshment on the islands—a step often pursued by the inhabitants of these buccaneer-haunted shores. Beyond turtles and their eggs on the beaches, and wild honey in the woods, nothing edible was there procurable. Some short time afterwards, however, our gallant corvette happened to be at anchor off the Bountings, and those of the crew left in her asked permission to go on shore for a run. Uninhabited as it was, there appeared to be no reason why they should not go on shore; and the commanding officer cheerfully assented, with a self-congratulatory feeling that, at any rate, as there were there neither ladies nor grog, Jack could not get himself into

trouble. "Oh! yes, by all means; you may all go," was the reply, and the jolly-boat and gig soon landed every man but the sentry and quartermaster; a parting warning was given to the worthies not to be tempted to touch any fruit, as they were poisonous. Having bathed, and washed their clothes over once or twice, by way of a jollification, and walked up and down the beaches until tired, one of the old sailors expressed it as his opinion that "it must be a d—d rum island, if there was nothing eatable to be found on it," and ventured a surmise that the woods must have heaps of nuts in them, if they only knew where to find them. A young mizentopman jumped at the idea, and started away in search of nuts. Finding none on the trees, he next sought for ground-nuts, and, as ill-luck would have it, soon found plenty, in the form of something which resembled strongly the common chestnut. Before long all hands had had what they graphically termed "a bowse-out," and soon afterwards became generally ill, being sick and griped to a ridiculous extent. The officers who went to bring off the liberty-men could hardly believe their senses when they found all those who recently landed hearty and well, lying about like so many sick monkeys, and almost as much frightened as hurt by their thoughtlessness. They were taken off, and strong emetics given, which added still more to the general sickness, and all night long there were ejaculations heard of "Those infernal ground-nuts!" and the unfortunate boy who had first discovered them was promised more thrashings than it is hoped he ever received.

My Malays, being either more experienced or less

enterprising than their English comrades, contented themselves with the honey and turtle-eggs; and as Jadee reported to me that a man called Alee had discovered a splendid wild-bees' nest on Pulo Bedan, I expressed a strong desire to see the process by which the bees were robbed of their store. We happened to be standing in a wood on a part of that island, and the bees were flying about us, when I expressed this wish in my usual tone of voice. "Hush!" said Jadee, putting his finger to his lips—"hush! speak low, or the bees will hear us!" And then, in a whispering voice, he informed me that the honey would not be fit for capture for some time; and that, at any rate, it was wrong to disturb the bees except at the full of the moon. As he considered it necessary to wait for that auspicious period, I assented, and only took care at the next full moon to be there. Alee and four other Malay seamen were told off to rob the bees' nest, and they as well as myself were soon stripped and swimming ashore. I observed that each man carried with him a small bundle of the husk of cocoa-nut shells, and directly they landed they proceeded to cut branches of a species of palm, and in the leaves enveloped the husks they had brought with them, forming the whole into articles resembling torches: a fire was then kindled upon the beach, fragments of the burning embers introduced into the heart of each torch, and then, by swinging them round so as to cause a draught, the husk ignited, and, aided by the action of the green leaves, poured out of one end of the torch a solid column of smoke. The faithful Jamboo had been left on board; but I understood, from the little these Malays told me,

that the torches were intended for the purpose of driving the bees away from the honey, but I did not understand that they were essential to one's safety, and therefore declined to carry one when it was offered to me.

Holding the torches in their hands and standing up, the Malays next enacted some mummery or incantation, which concluded with the usual repetition of the Mahometan creed—one so beautiful and concise, that it appears a pity we cannot produce anything as graphic in our own faith.

"God he is God! and Mahomet is his Prophet!" exclaimed we all; and, the torchmen leading the way, we left the pleasant shade of the jungle, and walked briskly along the shore until abreast of the bees' nest, which lay some three-quarters of a mile inland. Turning into the jungle, waving their smoke-torches and keeping a sharp look-out for snakes, which appeared to me all the more dangerous from the novelty of my attire—for, like my men, I had only one cloth round my hips and a handkerchief over my head—we soon sighted, up a small vista in the forest, the aged trunk of a blighted tree, which was alive with bees. Three of the Malays now sat down, waved their torches gently, throwing a halo of smoke round their tawny persons, and commenced to recite, in a slow solemn manner, some verses from the Koran, whether to keep the bees away, or to insure there being honey in the nest, I don't know; for just as I, half-laughing, was putting the question to them, the fourth Malay, Mr Alee, walked deliberately up to the nest and applied his torch.

Thunder and lightning! a thousand lancets were sud-

denly plunged into my body, and a black cloud of bees were around me. I shouted for Alee; "God he is God! and Mahomet is his Prophet!" groaned out the Malays, as they waved their torches, the bees threatening them as well as myself. It was more than I could bear; with a yell of agony, I started off like a deer for the sea: it seemed but a stride to the rocks, and at once I plunged into the water, taking down many a bee which adhered tenaciously to my body and face. Keeping down as long as possible, I rose in the hope of being clear from the little brutes; but, alas! they were not so easily baffled, and a cloud of them was ready to descend upon my devoted head. It might have ended seriously, had not Alee found that there was no honey in the nest, and he and his comrades then ran down to assist me, frightening off the bees with their torches, and accompanying me to the gunboat, which I reached nearly blind, and rather disgusted with the result of my first Asiatic bee-hunt; the more so that, in addition to the lesson I had learnt upon the advisability of using smoke preservers, we had disproved the truth of the old axiom, that "where there are bees, there must be honey."

Jadee was in great distress at seeing me return in such sad plight, and vowed that Alee and his companions must have been lubbers at their work; however, he promised me almost instantaneous relief; and as I was willing to accept that on any terms, one of the men, a leading hand, who, from his strict observance of his religious duties, was named the "Haggi," was sent for to cure me.

The Haggi, proud of an opportunity of displaying his

medical skill upon a white man, who are all supposed to be born doctors, proceeded immediately to roll up a quid of cērē leaf, betel-nut, gambier, and chunam, in the right proportions for chewing—such a quid as a Malay so much delights in. Whilst I masticated this in the most approved manner, the Haggi opened a small box of fine white chunam, made from the lime procured from burnt sea-shells; this chunam he carefully applied to my skin wherever it had been stung, muttering all the while, in a solemn strain, select sentences from the Koran, the responses or final portions of each chapter or sentence being taken up and repeated by my faithful coxswain, who for the time seemed desirous to entitle himself to a green turban by the fervour of his prayers, varying them, however, by shaking his tawny fist in the direction of the unconscious bees, and saying, with the utmost gravity, "Ah! you d—d pouls!"

Whether it was the chunam or the Koran cured me, it would be ingratitude to my holy friend the Haggi to say, for he stoutly maintained one to be inefficacious without the other; but this I can aver, that in a very short time all inflammation had subsided, and I was able to laugh over my adventure, making, however, a vow to bridle my curiosity for the future where bees were in the question.

CHAPTER V.

THE NORTH-EAST MONSOON — UNSATISFACTORY NEWS OF OUR SIAMESE ALLIES — THE PELICANS — ALLIGATORS ABOUND — THE COWARDICE OF THE ALLIGATORS—ENCOUNTER AND CAPTURE AN ALLIGATOR—EXTRAORDINARY STRENGTH AND VITALITY OF THOSE REPTILES—A STRANGE ANTIDOTE AGAINST FEVER — THE RAHMADAN AND "QUEDAH OPERA" — THE MALAYS ENDEAVOUR TO EVADE THE BLOCKADE—THE WATCHFULNESS OF MY NATIVE CREW.

THE north-east monsoon had fairly set in. All day long we had a delightfully pleasant breeze off the land, for the Malayan peninsula has so small a breadth that the winds which blow upon it from the China Sea reached us before they were robbed of their moisture or heated to an unpleasant degree by the action of the land; occasionally the monsoon would freshen, for a day or so, into a double-reefed-topsail breeze, or at other times become squally without rain, but our nights were invariably fine, with only just wind enough to fill the mat sails of a prahu. The sea was seldom ruffled, and more delightful weather for boat-work cannot be conceived. All we were required to do, was to guard against sleeping in the night-dews, and by so doing we all enjoyed better health than those cooped up in the ship.

Our new position inside Quedah bar became at last to be acknowledged by the Malays as our right, and from that time we often had communications with the fishermen who came out to visit their fishing-weirs. Through them we learnt that fighting was going on with the Siamese, a long distance off: according to their version, the Malay rajahs were everywhere victorious; several large towns and many slaves had fallen into their hands, and there was no probability of a Siamese army being able to act upon the offensive during that monsoon.

This was decidedly very cheerless news, but the authority was a questionable one; and we could see slight defensive preparations taking place in the fort, which betokened something else than entire confidence and security.

Meantime, each day brought with it novelty and amusement. Anchored as we now were, within the river and close to the stockade, broad mud-banks extended themselves on either hand whenever the tide was low. Asiatic birds and reptiles haunted these banks; some of the former, such as the snipe and curlew, were well known to us, and, until scared away, added to our daily fare. The pelicans, at first, were the sole robbers of the fishing-weirs, but they soon found themselves no match for the expert seamen of the pinnace and gunboats, and left us for some other spot. The alligators, however, were not to be frightened, although they took uncommonly good care not to enter into any of the personal combats upon the mud which the Malays, and after them the English sailors, were constantly trying to entrap them into. The number of these loathsome

brutes to be seen at a time was extraordinary; but whatever might be the danger of falling in with them if wading or swimming alone through these waters, there was no doubt of their being arrant cowards when fallen in with on shore. With the rising tide the alligators generally found their way up to the edge of the jungle, and there lay among the roots of the trees (which they strongly resembled), as if waiting for cattle or wild animals that might come down to drink: we, however, never saw them catch anything during a period of several months. The ebbing tide would often thus leave the brutes several hundred yards from the edge of the water, and very much they appeared to enjoy themselves when so left, with an Indian sun pouring down upon their tough hides; and as if in the very height of the *dolce far niente*, they would open back their hideous jaws, and remain in that position for more than an hour at a time. As to trying to shoot them, we soon found it mere waste of time, as well as of powder and ball; for, mortally wounded or not, they invariably carried themselves far beyond our reach. The Malay sailors showed us how, at any rate, we could frighten the alligators exceedingly, even if we could not capture them—by landing, lightly equipped with a sharp spear or boarding-pike, and thus obliging the reptile to make a long *détour* to escape being assailed. Occasionally I have seen the men, by dint of great activity, get near enough to fling their weapon and strike the alligators; but as in such cases they invariably struck the upper part of the back, they might as well have tried to spear a rock. The natives showed the utmost indifference to the presence of alliga-

tors in their neighbourhood, and, when questioned upon the subject, asserted that in salt or brackish water, at the mouths of rivers, the alligator was never dangerous to man; and that it was only up rivers, and in marshy places, where they lived, as it were, amongst human beings, that they screwed up their courage to indulge in such a dangerous luxury as eating men or women.

Of the enormous strength and extraordinary vitality of these reptiles we had a pretty good proof; for one evening, when the pinnace, as usual, dropped alongside the weir to take out fish for the evening meal, the men who went into the "pocket" to see what had been caught, were obliged to move their legs nimbly to escape the gin-like jaws of a good-sized alligator which had gone into the weir after the fish, and, having devoured them, could not escape. The pinnace-men cheered with delight, and proceeded at once to capture the prisoner. It was, however, a good tough job: the brute, some ten or twelve feet long, lay in the bottom of an enclosed space of about equal diameter; the water was about three feet deep, and extremely muddy, rendered more so by the splashings and convulsions of the animal. Attempts were at first made to thrust sharp boarding-pikes down through his hide; and from the height the seaman stood over the creature, and the weight they were able to bring to bear upon the pikes, it appeared probable that some weak spot would be found. But, no; although sometimes eight or nine powerful men pressed down with as many pikes, the brute did not suffer a scratch; and, incredible as it may appear, more than one of our boarding-pikes, strong as they are, were

bent in the neck. It was evident that a soft spot must be sought for under his "calipash," as, in imitation of turtle, the men called his upper coat of armour. Every man armed himself with some weapon or other, and stirred up the alligator with a vengeance. He became perfectly furious, and lashed about his tail and snapped his jaws in a very spiteful manner. The fun waxed warm; the "click" of the teeth as the mouth closed sounded uncommonly unpleasant, apart from the cracking of boat-hook staffs and other articles, as if they were mere twigs. At last a good noose was slipped over the creature's head and hauled tight round his neck; this enabled the seamen to administer a multitude of wounds which would have let its life out had it not had more than the usual number. But it was a long time before it was deemed sufficiently safe to haul the brute out of the weir, and tow it to one of the gunboats to be dissected and skinned: and even then the muscular action of portions of the body, the tail especially, whilst being cut into pieces, was something extraordinary, and denoted how strong is the vitality of all this reptile tribe. I and others tasted a cutlet of alligator's flesh, and although it was not particularly nice, still there was nothing about it disagreeable. Some compared it to very bad veal cutlets; for my part, it tasted very much as turtle collops would, which is not saying much in its favour.

Observing the "Haggi" in quest of something, I watched my surgical friend, and found him carefully cutting open the head, to extract the brain. Through Jamboo I asked what purpose it was to be applied to,

and was informed, with a solemn shake of the head that would have qualified the Haggi for the College of Physicians, that "it was an invaluable remedy for all fevers!" I need not say that, great as my faith was in the Koran and chunam-box of the holy mariner, I determined not to go through a course of alligator brains, come what might. Prior to our Christmas-Day, the Mahometan fast,* or Lent, took place. Our Malays kept it in a particularly lax manner; but our opponents in Quedah appeared to be far more orthodox, their devotions finding vent in a magnificent chant by male voices, which, heard in all the lonely stillness of a tropical night, was deeply impressive. Jadee assured me that the performers were men of undoubted sanctity, having all made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and kissed the tomb of their Prophet, without which qualification they could not take part in what the English seamen sacrilegiously styled the "Quedah Opera." The conclusion of the fast was a general holiday in the town and fort; a constant saluting and cheering took place, and men, women, and children were dressed in holiday attire, giving a great deal more animation to the tumble-down fort and the devoted town than we were wont to see them assume.

Then came our Christmas. The Hyacinth ran down to the Bountings, and captured some very fine turtle. Turtle-soup and plum-pudding galore were prepared; and, like a hen gathering her chicks, we all sailed off from our blockading posts, and tumbled on board the dear old craft in time for an early dinner.

* During the month of Rahmadan the Mussulman abstains from eating or drinking, smoking or pleasure, from sunrise to sunset.

The Malay sailors got a holiday and a double allowance of rice and fish, and paid all due respect to the "white man's feast," whilst we talked over our adventures with shipmates and messmates, and hoped and prophesied for the future. As the evening closed in, all boats' crews were again piped away, and we rowed into Quedah, keeping time to the tune of some sentimental ditty, in which the lady of the sailor's love

> "Was a rich merchant's daughter,
> From London she did come," &c. &c.;

and winding up with a *dénouement* far more comical than moral.

Yet was our duty not all play or sight-seeing. The Malays in Quedah had to dispose of their produce at Penang, and procure, in return, arms, powder, and salt, and our duty was to prevent them. Whenever the night-tides were high, combined with a misty state of the atmosphere likely to cover their escape through our cordon, prahus would push out, and, by keeping close under the shadow of the jungle, strive to escape our vigilance. Their lofty mat-sails caught the faintest breath of land-breeze, the beautifully sharp bow of the phrahus made hardly a ripple as it cut through the water, and it required the keenest eye to detect them when stealing thus along in silence and shadow. The quick sight and hearing of our Malays were in this respect invaluable: they had themselves been engaged in similar feats, and knew all the tricks of their compatriots. On more than one occasion did the lookout-man call me at night, when, although a clear sky overhead, nothing but

the tops of the trees could be seen peering over a white mist which poured like smoke out of the unhealthy mangrove swamps. "A prahu!" the man would say, pointing into the mist, making a sign at the same time to listen. Holding my head low down and horizontally, I could at last distinguish what had caught the Malay's attention—a low creak occasionally, which I most decidedly should have thought to be the swaying of some branch in the forest, had he not assured me that it was the action of a prahu's oar in a rattan grummet.* At other times a rippling sound, such as water will make when running past any fixed object, was wafted on the night-wind. "It is merely the tide running past the fishing-weirs, Jamboo," I might perhaps say. "Oh no, sir!" he would reply, "the lookout-man assures me the sound is altering its position, and that it's the stem of a prahu cutting through the water." Silently and stealthily, but quickly, as men who had been all their lives at such work, the crew would be on their legs. "Baughan! semoa-secalar, hancat sown!" in a low and distinct whisper, would run along the deck; or, in other words, "Arouse! hands up anchor!" The anchor would be run up gently, and Numero Tega would be after her prey like a night-hawk. We had to deal, however, with keen hands and fast boats, and often have I chased to early dawn before being sure of my prize.

* "Grummet," the piece of rope used for attaching an oar to the rowing-pin.

CHAPTER VI.

A NIGHT-CHASE AFTER A PRAHU—THE CHASE—THE PRAHU MANŒUVRES ADMIRABLY—JADEE VOLUNTEERS TO BOARD HER—THE CAPTURE—A PIRATICAL SAINT—THE SAINT AT PRAYERS—THE SAINT'S DEPORTMENT—THE SAINT'S MARTYRDOM—DEFENSIVE MEASURES—ESCAPE OF SIAMESE PRISONERS—SUFFERINGS OF THE SIAMESE PRISONERS—A CURIOUS MODE OF SKETCHING.

THE pluck and zeal of my crew often struck me, but never perhaps more than on the occasion I am about to relate.

We had had a long and unsuccessful chase one day after a fast-pulling prahu, and the crew being much exhausted, I anchored for the night at the mouth of a small river called the Furlong, about two miles north of Quedah Fort. Heartily tired with the past day's exertion, all my crew soon dropped asleep, except the usual lookout-man, and I donned my blanket frock and trousers, and threw myself on the deck to rest. About ten o'clock I was aroused by a fine old one-eyed fellow called "Souboo." "Touhan!"* whispered he, "a large two-masted prahu has just sailed past us!" "Where?—in

* Touhan, in this sense, was equivalent to "Sir;" it is generally used as Mr would be in English.

what direction?" I asked. "To leeward, sir!" said Souboo, as he dropped upon his knees and peered along the water, over which the night-mists were moving; "there she is—a real 'capel prahu,' and sailing very fast." To up anchor and make sail to the land-breeze did not take many minutes; the sweeps were manned, and the guns cleared for action.

Whilst my little craft was flying through the water, I questioned Souboo as to how it was he first got sight of the prahu. "The wind was rather along the land than off it," said he, "and I was watching the mouth of the river, when, suddenly happening to turn my head to seaward, I saw a prahu come out of the mist and almost tumble on board of us, as she hauled in for the stream; but in a minute her course was changed, and she bore up for the southward with flowing sheets."

"All right," exclaimed Jadee, "we will have her—there is a twenty-mile run for her to the Bountings, and before that ground is gone over the fog will have cleared off and the wind fail." "How if she hauls up, and goes to the northward?" I suggested. "No Malay man tries to sail against the wind with a prahu, when the white man is in chase of him, Touhan!" said Jadee; "and if Souboo's description of this vessel is correct, she is one of the war-prahus of Mahomet Alee's fleet!"

Under this pleasing anticipation Jadee got quite excited; and I must say I joined in the feeling, as the gunboat listed to the breeze, and her dashing crew bent with a will to their oars. The zealous Campar handed to Jadee the longest and ugliest creese in his stock, and I observed all the men stick their short knives in their

girdles ready for a fray. "No prahu yet!" I exclaimed, after running two or three miles through the mist. "We will catch her!" responded Jadee; and almost as he said the word, we seemed to be aboard of a large-sized prahu, running the same way as ourselves. There was a yell of delight from the Number *Threes*, as my crew styled themselves, and one as of astonishment from the prahu; but in a moment she, what is termed, jibbed her sails, and slipped out of sight again before we could dip our heavy yards and lug-sails. Altering our course so as to intercept her in her evident intention to seek a hiding-place in the Bounting Islands, the bow-gun was cleared away and loaded with grape, ready to knock away her masts when another opportunity offered. Again we ran almost upon her, our sails being at the time boomed out "wing and wing." "Lower your sails and surrender!" Jadee shouted, as I fired, and brought down her main-sail. For a minute her capture seemed certain; but we had to deal with no novice. As we shot past the prahu, going nearly eight knots, she dropped her foresail, put her helm hard down, and, long before our sails could be furled and the gunboat's head got round, the villanous prahu was out of sight astern. I fancy I swore; for Jadee called the lost prize a "d—d poul," which she most decidedly was not, and added that he evidently was "a pig! and would not fight."

We still determined to adhere to our original course, confident of the prahu having no shelter nearer than the islands, and were rewarded as the mist cleared away by again sighting her. I soon saw that we were by far the faster sailer with the fresh breeze then blowing, and de-

termined not to let her escape me this time. I proposed, if three or four men would follow me, to jump on board of her, and prevent her escape until the gunboat got fairly alongside. Jadee at once seized the idea, and only so far altered it as to persuade me, through the assistance of the interpreter, that the Malays in the prahu would be more likely to surrender quietly to a countryman who could assure them of quarter, than they would be at the sight of a naval officer, when fright alone might make them run a-muck, and cause a needless loss of life.

Accordingly, Jadee and his three boarders stood ready at the bow, and looking at them as they stood on the gunwale, eagerly eyeing the prahu as we rushed at her, they would have made a fine study for a painter. They were nearly naked, with the exception of a sarong wrapped round the left arm, to ward off such blows as might be aimed at them; in the waist-belt, across the small of their backs, each had stuck his creese, and a sharp short cutlass dangled from their wrists. Strange sights indeed do travellers see! but, for disinterested devotion and bravery, I question whether a finer example could be shown than that of these dark-skinned subjects of Queen Victoria.

As we closed the prahu, no answer was returned to our hail to surrender. "All ready!" said Jadee, swinging himself almost out of the rigging with eagerness. "Look out!" I shouted, and fired again at the sails. The prahu repeated her old manœuvre, but we checkmated her this time, for as our side scraped her stern, Jadee and his followers leapt into her with a shout. Our sails were down in a trice, and we swept alongside

of the prize; and, having heard so much as I had done of the desperate character of Malays, I was not a little delighted to find that they had in this case surrendered without resistance directly Jadee made himself master of their helm, and announced his intention, with a vicious wave of his abominable creese, to maintain it against all comers until the gunboat got alongside.

The vessel had been a war-prahu; but her breastwork for the guns had been removed, and, in the peaceful character of a trader, she was, we afterwards found, employed to keep up the communication between the Malay chieftains in Quedah province and their friends in Penang. The emissary upon this occasion we made a prisoner of; the vessel we respected as a trader, but forced her to return into Quedah.

The prisoner was a Malay of good extraction, and, having performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, wore the distinguished decoration of a considerable quantity of green calico about his head. Apart from his sanctity, he was, as his able efforts to escape had proved, an expert sailor, and doubtless a most worthy member of his piratical fraternity. There was something about the man particularly commanding. He was tall and slight for a Malay, and bore, as many of the higher caste in Malaya do, marks of Arab blood in his veins. His face would have been good-looking but for the high and square cheek-bones and a fierce expression of the eye. A small Vandyke-shaped beard, which was a mark of his holy rank, and a certain dignity of manner, showed him one accustomed to command; and it amused me to see with what self-possession he was prepared, although my prisoner,

to exercise his authority upon my men, who instinctively obeyed him as they would do their master.

I did not, however, show any great awe for his piratical saintship, much to Jadee's astonishment; for although my coxswain's knowledge of the creed of the faithful was but a mere glimmering, still he had vague superstitious fears about it, which would have made me laugh had Jadee not been so much in earnest about them. Out of consideration for Jadee's fears as to the evil consequences likely to arise through the imprisoned Haggi's influence with divers demons, spirits, *et cetera*, I consented that, whenever the position of the gunboat brought the direction of the Prophet's tomb over the stern, the Haggi might, in pursuance of the established form of Mahometanism, bring his carpet on the quarter-deck, and pray; at other times he was to remain forward. Accordingly, at the hour of prayer, the pirate-saint would stalk along to the stern of the gunboat, spread his little carpet, turn towards Mecca, or rather the direction in which it lay, and then, indifferent to who were looking at him, or whatever might be going on, enter upon his devotions with a zeal and abstraction from the little world around him which could not but command admiration from men of any creed. His orisons finished, he returned to his place with the dignity of a rajah.

He never made the slightest effort to conciliate either my goodwill or that of any of my crew. I was evidently a Giaour, an infidel, and the Malays around me renegades; but I rather admired him for this independence, and took good care nothing should occur to offend his

religious scruples, so far as he personally was concerned. Perhaps in time we should have appreciated each other better; for on my one day notifying to him that he was to proceed to Penang, to stand upon his trial before Governor Bonham, he relaxed for a few minutes, clasped both hands together, made a low bow, and "hoped God would be with me, and that I should walk in health!" expressions which I cordially returned; and so we parted. From what I afterwards heard, I had reason to believe the "Company Sahib" had a long account with this holy man, and that, with some others, he was to be seen in after years innocently employed sweeping and keeping in order the fortifications of Fort-William at Calcutta. A bevy of houris in the world to come will doubtless reward him for the injury he has suffered from the infidel in this.

Towards the commencement of the new year, our attention was called to a strong working-party being seen every day to leave the fort, and proceed to clear away the jungle which had grown up close round the works; this done, they commenced the construction of an admirable battery, which flanked our anchorage as well as the landward side of Quedah Fort. Observing that this working-party was strongly guarded, we learnt, on inquiry from the fishermen, that the labourers were unfortunate Siamese—men, women, and children—who had been captured when the province was conquered by the Malays, and that the work they were now doing was merely to keep them out of mischief. We, however, plainly saw that the chiefs had some cause for anxiety, and anticipated an attack, though how or whence we had

as yet no certain intelligence. We took some pains to get information carried to these poor creatures of our readiness to give them shelter, and shortly afterwards two Siamese effected their escape under difficult circumstances. The musquito squadron were just on the point of separating to take up their stations for the night—a step we always took care to carry out after dark, in order that the enemy might not know our position—when a voice was heard to hail us from a long tongue of mud which ran out to seaward from the northern point of the river. At first it was supposed to be the whoop of a night-hawk, but it was repeated, and our men declared it to be the voice of either Chinese or Siamese. Mr Jamboo was called for, and, in a dialect which was so unmusical as to resemble the sounds emitted by knocking two hard pieces of wood together, he soon ascertained that they were two Siamese men who had escaped from the Malays, and in an attempt to cross the mud-flat had sunk into it exhausted, and, unless we could reach them, would assuredly be drowned or devoured by the alligators upon the return of the tide. The pinnace was now forced in as near as possible to the mud-bank, and three or four of the English seamen having volunteered to assist the unfortunates, they stripped themselves, and, aided by oars and boards, slipped over the mud to where the Siamese were fairly bogged, pulled them out by sheer strength and activity, and brought them off amidst the cheers of all our party. The blue-jackets washed them, and clothed their shivering frames in sailors' frocks and trousers, persuaded them to drink a glass of raw Jamaica rum each, and then, with considerable truth,

said, half-laughing, "Why, Jack, your mother would not know you!"—a remark the Siamese would probably have acquiesced in, had they understood the rough but good-natured fellows.

The tale of the Siamese was soon told: they were father and son, and had originally entered the province of Quedah from the neighbourhood of Bankok. At the time of the Malay inroad, the father was a petty merchant, barber, and painter, at an island called Lancávi. They were made prisoners, or rather slaves; worked like horses, starved, and constantly saw their countrymen creesed before their eyes. They escaped, stole a boat, and sailed with her across to the mainland, by following the coast of which they knew they must reach English territory. At last they observed our ship in the offing, and rightly conjecturing that some of her boats would be found off Quedah, had happily succeeded in reaching us without being seen by the lynx-eyed look-outs of Quedah.

They stayed some days with us, and appeared anxious to evince their gratitude in every possible way. The old man, as a Siamese artist, presented each officer with specimens of his skill; the most remarkable point in his sketches being the fact of his wonderful departure from all our preconceived notions of drawing.

For instance, in a pencil sketch of Buddha, drawn for me, in which that divinity is represented reposing upon one leg, and looking uncommonly like Canova's famed figure of a dancing-girl reposing, and almost as unnatural, the draughtsman commenced with the *toes*, and worked gradually up to the gorgeous head-dress, yet preserving a

just proportion in all the parts of the figure; as a whole, the result may be said to have been more curious than pleasing. When the Siamese eventually proceeded to Penang, they left us favourably impressed with their disposition and ability, although they evidently lacked the energy of character which marked the Malays about us.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ANXIETY OF THE OFFICER COMMANDING THE BLOCKADE—INTELLIGENCE RECEIVED OF THE PIRATE FLEET—MY GOOD FORTUNE IN SAILING WITH SO EXCELLENT A CAPTAIN—A TROPICAL THUNDER-STORM — JADEE KILLS THE WIND — HOW JADEE LEARNED TO KILL THE WIND—THE DUTCH GENERALLY DISLIKED—JADEE'S PIRATICAL FRIENDS ATTACK A JUNK—THE DEFEAT AND FLIGHT OF JADEE'S FRIENDS—THEY ARE SAVED BY THE RAJAH OF JEHORE—KILLING THE WIND.

Our enterprising captain in the Hyacinth had, as it may be supposed, a very anxious time. The extent of coast to be blockaded was not less than fifty or sixty miles in extent—much of it but little known; numerous islands, rivers, and creeks existed of which charts and surveyors had no cognisance. He knew well that a large force of prahus and armed men was in the province; their exact whereabouts, however, was preserved a perfect secret, and Captain Warren's fear was, lest they should fall upon his boats or the gunboats with vastly superior forces, and carry off an easy victory. The Hyacinth, therefore, like a troubled spirit, was ever flitting up and down between Quedah and a spot of equal importance called the Parlis river, situated twenty miles farther north, and in the entrance of which the ship's cutter and No. 1 gunboat, the Diamond, were stationed. In the

second week of January, information was received that a considerable number of the war-prahus seen by us at Trang during the previous autumn, had succeeded, under their renowned leader, Datoo Mahomet Alee, in getting into the Parlis river, and were employed in the defence of that neighbourhood. It became therefore necessary to reinforce the Parlis blockading force, and I was ordered to proceed there for that purpose. Delighted at the prospect of seeing more of this interesting country, my craft was soon under way and spinning along the coast, which, to the northward of Quedah river, rapidly improved in appearance; the picturesque group of islands known as the Lancavas, and beyond them the Laddas, lying to seaward, and spurs of mountain land from the central chain approaching close to the coast of the mainland.

All, at any rate, was bright and beautiful to me. Placed, young as I was, in a position of trust and responsibility—enjoying all the sweets of command, and still too young to feel its anxieties—it was indeed the sunny side of the world that I was then enjoying; and as, with a throbbing pulse and zealous heart, I walked my own quarterdeck, how earnest, in all the honesty of youth, were my resolutions to deserve well of my profession, and those set in authority over me! Fortunate are those boys who, like me, sail their first trip as embryo admirals with such a captain as mine was—a gentleman in all things; labouring in his profession quietly and earnestly—not, upon the one hand, scorning it as being beneath his birth or abilities—or, upon the other, degrading himself into a mere

menial, and working for the dirty pounds, shillings, and pence it would yield him. The midshipman who sails and learns his profession with such a man may perhaps, in after life, suffer when he happens to be under the tyrant, schemer, or bully—for, alas! such will be found in every noble profession; but those principles early acquired will ever be a solace to him, and the love and recollection of such a man console him and cheer him in the hope of emulating his example.

As we approached a long low point named Tangong Bouloo, or the Cape of Bamboos, from the numbers of those canes which were waving gracefully over it, my attention was called to the necessity of preparing for a heavy squall which was rapidly sweeping down towards us from the distant hills. As the wind freshened, we reduced canvass until the Emerald was flying along under a close-reefed foresail, everything cracking withal. The squall swept on; a dense black mass of clouds, charged with electricity, a burst of thunder which seemed to make the gunboat tremble to her very keel, and a vivid flash of lightning which blinded one for a minute, showed how close it was. The tall trees bent to the gale, the bamboos were swept down like a long row of feathers, and a white streak of foam rushed towards us as we took in our sail, and prepared to receive it under bare poles. With a shriek it struck us; the little Emerald lay down to it for a moment, the helm was put up, and away she flew before the storm like a snow-flake. Jadee stood by my side—"A bad wind, Touhan; we must kill it!" "Kill away! Jadee," I replied, laughing at the idea of so fickle a personage as the Clerk of the

Weather getting into a scrape with a Malay pirate,—"kill away, by all means!" "Campar!" shouted Jadee —poor Campar! he had to be everywhere—"oh! Campar, thou son of a burnt mother, hand here the rice-spoon!" shouted Jadee, looking as solemn as a Quaker or a haggi. This rice-spoon, by the way, was the only one in the vessel; it was made of wood, and used for stirring the rice whilst cooking over the fire; its value to us probably invested it with a certain degree of sanctity. The spoon was brought, and I tried to look as solemn as Jadee, who, calling to his aid the sanctimonious Alee, placed the spoon upon the deck between him and the wind, and the pair of true believers repeated some verses over it—bound themselves, by a vow, to sacrifice several game-cocks* upon a favourable occasion, and then the precious spoon was stuck through the lanyards of the main-rigging, with the handle to leeward. I think I should have died from the effects of suppressed mirth, had not the fury of the squall and the quantity of water thrown on board of us given me enough to do to look after the safety of the craft. Jadee, however, sat quietly watching and waiting for the effect of his incantation: at last, down came the rain, not in drops, but in bucketfuls, and, as usual, the wind fell entirely. Hastening to get under the rain-awnings and mats until the weather cleared up, I remarked to Jadee that "the wind was fairly killed." "Yes!" he replied, with a sly expression of countenance, "I never saw that charm fail; I never saw the wind that could long stand its

* I fancy, from game-cocks being introduced into this superstitious observance, that it is purely of Malay origin.

effect. The Rajah of Jehore was the first man who taught it to me, and I have found it infallible. If Jamboo was here, Touhan, I'd tell you how it happened." Jamboo was at once sent for; and making a proviso that my coxswain should speak slowly and distinctly, so as to enable me to call in the interpreter's aid as little as possible, he proceeded to tell his tale, somewhat as follows:—

"Long before that action with the English man-of-war which drove me to Singapore, I sailed in a fine fleet of prahus belonging to the Rajah of Jehore.* We were all then very rich—ah! such numbers of beautiful wives, and such feasting!—but, above all, we had a great many most holy men in our force! When the proper monsoon came, we proceeded to sea to fight the Bugismen and Chinamen bound from Borneo and the Celebes to Java; for you must remember our Rajah was at war with them (Jadee always maintained that the proceedings in which he had been engaged partook of a purely warlike, and not of a piratical character).

"Our thirteen prahus had all been fitted out in and about Singapore. I wish you could have seen them, Touhan! These prahus we see here are nothing to them; such brass guns, such long pendants, such creeses! Allah-il-Allah! our Datoos were indeed great men!

"Sailing along the coast as high as Patani, we then crossed over to Borneo, two Illanoon prahus acting as

* I have said the Rajah of Jehore; but Jadee called the individual by some peculiar term not easily spelt, and described his place of abode and hiding-place as being near Cape Romania, in the Jehore district.

pilots, and reached a place called Sambas: there we fought the Chinese and Dutchmen, who ill-treat our countrymen, and are trying to drive the Malays out of that country. Gold-dust and slaves in large quantities were here taken; most of the latter being our countrymen of Sumatra and Java, who are captured and sold to the planters and miners of the Dutch settlements."

"Do you mean to say," I asked, "that the Dutch countenance such traffic?"

"The Hollanders," replied Jadee, "have been the bane of the Malay race; no one knows the amount of villany, the bloody cruelty of their system towards us. They drive us into our prahus to escape their taxes and their laws, and then declare us pirates, and put us to death. There are natives in our crew, Touhan, of Sumatra and Java, of Bianca and Borneo; ask them why they hate the Dutchmen; why they would kill a Dutchman. It is because the Dutchman is a false man, not like the white man (English). The Hollander stabs in the dark; he is a liar! However, from Borneo we sailed to Biliton and Bianca, and there waited for some large junks that were expected. Our cruise had been so far successful, and we feasted away—fighting cocks, smoking opium, and eating white rice. At last our scouts told us that a junk was in sight. She came—a lofty-sided one of Fokien. We knew those Amoy men would fight like tiger-cats for their sugar and silks; and as the breeze was fresh, we only kept her in sight by keeping close in-shore and following her. Not to frighten the Chinamen, we did not hoist sail, but made our slaves pull. Oh!" said Jadee, warming up with

the recollection of the event,—"oh! it was fine to feel what brave fellows we then were!

"Towards night we made sail and closed upon the junk, and at daylight it fell a stark calm, and we went at our prize like sharks. All our fighting men put on their war-dresses; the Illanoons danced their war-dance, and all our gongs sounded, as we opened out to attack her on different sides.

"But those Amoy men are pigs! They burnt joss-paper, sounded their gongs, and received us with such showers of stones, hot water, long pikes, and one or two well-directed shots, that we hauled off to try the effect of our guns, sorry though we were to do it, for it was sure to bring down the Dutchmen upon us. Bang! bang! we fired at them, and they at us; three hours did we persevere, and whenever we tried to board the Chinese beat us back every time, for her side was as high and smooth as a wall, with galleries overhanging. We had several men killed and hurt; a council was called; a certain charm was performed by one of our holy men, a famous chief, and twenty of our best men devoted themselves to effecting a landing on the junk's deck, when our look-out prahus made the signal that the Dutchmen were coming; and sure enough some Dutch gunboats came sweeping round a headland. In a moment we were round and pulling like demons for the shores of Biliton, the gunboats in chase of us, and the Chinese howling with delight. The sea-breeze freshened, and brought up a schooner-rigged boat very fast. We had been at work twenty-four hours, and were heartily tired; our slaves could work no longer, so

we prepared for the Hollanders; they were afraid to close upon us, and commenced firing at a distance. This was just what we wanted; we had guns as well as they, and, by keeping up the fight until dark, we felt sure of escape. The Dutchmen, however, knew this too, and kept closing gradually upon us; and when they saw our prahus baling out water and blood, they knew we were suffering, and cheered like devils. We were desperate; surrender to Dutchmen we never would: we closed together for mutual support, and determined at last, if all hope of escape ceased, to run our prahus ashore, burn them, and lie hid in the jungle until a future day. But a brave Datoo, with his shattered prahu, saved us; he proposed to let the Dutchmen board her, creese all that did so, and then trust to Allah for his escape.

"It was done immediately; we all pulled a short distance away, and left the brave Datoo's prahu like a wreck abandoned. How the Dutchmen yelled, and fired into her! The slaves and cowards jumped out of the prahu, but our braves kept quiet; at last, as we expected, one gunboat dashed alongside of their prize, and boarded her in a crowd. Then was the time to see how the Malay man could fight; the creese was worth twenty swords, and the Dutchmen went down like sheep. We fired to cover our countrymen, who, as soon as their work was done, jumped overboard and swam to us; but the brave Datoo, with many more, died, as brave Malays should do, running a-muck against a host of enemies.

"The gunboats were quite scared by this punishment, and we lost no time in getting as rapidly away as pos-

sible; but the accursed schooner, by keeping more in the offing, held the wind, and preserved her position, signalling all the while for the gunboats to follow her. We did not want to fight any more; it was evidently an unlucky day. On the opposite side of the channel to that we were on, the coral reefs and shoals would prevent the Hollanders following us: it was determined at all risks to get there in spite of the schooner. With the first of the land-wind in the evening we set sail before it, and steered across for Bianca. The schooner placed herself in our way like a clever sailor, so as to turn us back; but we were determined to push on, take her fire, and run all risks.

"It was a sight to see us meeting one another; but we were desperate: we had killed plenty of Dutchmen; it was their turn now. I was in the second prahu, and well it was so; for when the headmost one got close to the schooner, the Dutchman fired all his guns into her, and knocked her at once into a wrecked condition. We gave one cheer, fired our guns, and then pushed on for our lives. Ah! sir, it was a dark night indeed for us. Three prahus in all were sunk, and the whole force dispersed. To add to our misfortunes, a strong gale sprang up. We were obliged to carry canvass; our prahu leaked from shot-holes; the sea continually broke into her; we dared not run into the coral reefs on such a night, and bore up for the Straits of Malacca. The wounded writhed and shrieked in their agony, and we had to pump, we fighting men, and bale like *black fellows!* By two in the morning we were all worn out. I felt indifferent whether I was drowned or not, and

many threw down their buckets, and sat down to die. The wind increased, and at last, as if to put us out of our misery, just such a squall as this came down upon us. I saw it was folly contending against our fate, and followed the general example. 'God is great!' we exclaimed; but the Rajah of Jehore came and reproved us. 'Work until daylight,' he said, 'and I will insure your safety.' We pointed at the black storm which was approaching. 'Is that what you fear?' he replied; and going below, he produced just such a wooden spoon, and did what you have seen me do; and I tell you, my captain, as I would if the 'Company Sahib' stood before me, that the storm was nothing, and that we had a dead calm one hour afterwards, and were saved. God is great, and Mahomet is his prophet!—but there is no charm like the Jehore one for killing the wind!"

It did not take as long to tell as it does to write this odd tale; and it would be impossible to try to give an idea of how my coxswain's feelings were carried away with the recital of his narrative, or how genuine and childlike the credulity of the old pirate. I wrote it down as a strange episode in Malay life, and possibly the prescription may get me a medal from the College of Physicians, even if it should be declared valueless by European navigators in general.

CHAPTER VIII.

REFRESHING EFFECTS OF A SQUALL IN THE TROPICS—SCENERY IN THE MALAY ARCHIPELAGO—MY GUNBOAT, THE EMERALD, JOINS THE PARLIS BLOCKADING SQUADRON—THE MALAYS TRY TO STOCKADE US OUT OF THE RIVER—HAGGI LOUNG COMES ON AN EMBASSY — MALAYAN DIPLOMACY — JADEE'S DISREGARD FOR A FLAG OF TRUCE—JADEE AND THE ONE-EYED ENEMY—A SPY—THE CHASE BY STARLIGHT—THE SUBMERGED JUNGLE —AN INDIAN NIGHT SCENE—THE CHASE LOST—THE WHIP AND MANGROVE SNAKES.

AGAIN we made sail and sped on our way. How nature revives in these equatorial climes after the effect of such a squall as we had just experienced! Animate and inanimate objects gain fresh life, as it were, from the action of the passing storm; the very sea glittered in the sunlight with a brighter and a deeper blue, and the forest-clad sides of the surrounding mountains looked even more gorgeous than was their wont, as they shone in all the thousand shades of which green and gold are susceptible. Away to the northward stretched a labyrinth of islands of every size and shape —some still wrapt in storm-clouds, others bathed in refulgent light, or softened by distance into "summer isles of Eden lying in dark purple spheres of sea." In short, it realised at such a moment all one's brightest dreams

of the East; and it required but little imagination to people it with bloody pirates and fleet-footed prahus, in warring with whom I amongst others was to win bright honour.

At the base of a range of hills which bound the broad valley of Quedah on the north, the river Parlis discharges itself over a bar into the Indian Ocean. I hauled in for it, and soon had the satisfaction of shaking the gallant Barclay by the hand.

The river at its mouth was divided, by a small island half a mile long, into two branches. This island, called "Pulo Quetam," or Crab Island, by the natives, served for a dockyard, drying-ground, and place of recreation to our little force, and, together with the fact of a large fleet of war-prahus being up the river, under the command of one of the most enterprising of pirates, gave to the blockade here a degree of interest which Quedah did not possess.

Our force consisted of two gunboats and a ship's cutter, carrying altogether four guns and about seventy men. The Malays far outnumbered us, and Datoo Mahomet Alee had sent a derisive message, to say he could and should go in or out of the river whenever it suited his convenience. The consequence was, we lived in momentary expectation of a tough action with a set of heroes who had already fought the boats of H.M.S. Zebra and Rose on former occasions, and allowed them no decided advantage.

During the day we used to lie together in the northern entrance of the river, but at night I was detached to blockade the southern branch, and prevent all ingress

and egress by even the fishermen. Until the arrival of the Emerald this measure had been impracticable, and it gave great umbrage to the enemy. A pangleman, or petty chief, was therefore sent down from the town of Parlis, situated twelve miles up the stream, to try and induce us to desist. The ambassador was not wanting in skill. He said that Mahomet Alee sent all health to the officer in command of the English gunboats, and begged to assure him that the presence of a vessel in the south branch of the river was an unnecessary measure, and an act of discourtesy which he hoped would cease. He knew from experience that *white men* (Orang-putihs) never wantonly frightened women or children, but that my vessel rowing round to her station every night had only that effect. The pangleman alluded here to the inhabitants of a small village situated in the fork of the river, which I had to pass nightly.

Lastly, Mahomet Alee begged to remind us that such a ridiculous force as we were was merely tolerated, and that we should not do as we liked.

Mr Barclay, our senior officer, gave a concise answer: that he should do his duty as he pleased, and that the women and children would cease to fear when they found we did them no harm; and lastly, the sooner Datoo Mahomet Alee put his threat into execution the better pleased we should all be.

We never understood what Mahomet Alee's real motive was; but as if to show us that he did not care about the south channel being open or not, he took advantage of my absence one night, whilst chasing a prahu, to send a strong party of men down, who actually stockaded that

branch entirely across, much to the astonishment of my brother officer, who found it completed in the morning. I was told of it on my return, and he gave me full permission to do what I pleased, to show our indifference to the authority or temper of "Mahomet Alee." I accordingly went round, and finding we could not easily otherwise remove the stakes, I lashed the gunboat to them at dead low water, and as the tide rose she lifted them out as easily as feathers, and on the ebb-tide we sent them floating to sea. Again did the enemy watch for an opportunity, and again did I uproot their stockade; the expenditure of labour being but slight on our side, whilst with them the skill, energy, and labour necessary to construct such a work, although merely formed of the stems of young trees from the neighbouring jungle, were very remarkable.

Several messages of a very uncivil nature came to our commanding officer, to which equally uncourteous answers were returned.

One day the other gunboat, the Diamond, and the cutter had been obliged to weigh and proceed to sea in chase of prahus, leaving my vessel alone in the river. About noon two long row-boats, called sampans, with ten or twelve persons in each, swept suddenly round the point ahead, and made direct for us. Jadee saw them immediately, and his eyes glistened at the prospect of their intentions being warlike. Whatever their original purpose was, they were peaceable enough when they saw us all under arms; Jadee, however, as a precautionary measure, putting on his fighting jacket, a long sleeveless one of red cloth, sufficiently quilted to turn the

edge of a "badi."* The leading canoe was hailed at pistol-shot distance, and called upon to state her mission. We were informed that they came with a communication from Datoo Mahomet Alee, the bearer being no less a personage than his second in command, a man called "Haggi Loūng."

The canoe in which the Haggi was seated was permitted to come alongside, and she had evidently a picked crew armed to the teeth; and I had no doubt that my serang was right in saying that, had they found the gunboat with half a crew on shore, as was usually the case about noon, the reverend Haggi and his comrades were to have essayed her capture. However, I received the gentleman with all the dignity a youth could muster, although I was somewhat piqued at the supercilious smile which played on the face of Haggi Loūng as he eyed the pocket edition of the white man before him.

Loūng was rather tall, with square shoulders and bony limbs, evincing undoubted capability for enforcing those maxims of the Koran which his high forehead and intellectual countenance showed he possessed mental capacity for acquiring and inculcating.

Seating ourselves in a circle, consisting of Haggi Loūng and his secretary, with Jadee on one side of me and the interpreter on the other, we proceeded to business. The message — if ever one was sent, which I strongly question—when divested of Eastern ornament and circumlocution, amounted merely to an attempt to

* A "badi" is a small stabbing-knife, used in close fight, or to administer a *coup de grâce* to an enemy.

persuade me to believe that the blockade of the southern branch of the river was totally needless, and that the best proof that it was so consisted in the fact of their having stockaded it across themselves; and they begged I would not touch that stockade.

I told him, "he had already received an answer from my superior officer upon these points; I had nothing to add; and that Mahomet Alee must remember that, as English officers merely acted from a sense of duty, and in obedience to orders, I hoped the next time he asked me a favour it would be one that I could grant."

The Haggi wanted to discuss the point; but as the arguments passed for the most part through the medium of Jadee and the interpreter, I suppose they lost their point, for I kept my ground.

Failing in this respect, he gradually turned the conversation to the prospect of the Siamese regaining the province of Quedah, and with much finesse led me into the error of believing that the Siamese army had been repulsed at all points. I now sent for boiled rice and fish, which I ordered to be set before the Haggi; and Jadee proceeded, by my desire, to see that the Malays in the canoes had food supplied to them; though, from the expression of his face whilst so employed, I could plainly observe that he would have far preferred blowing them from the muzzle of the bow-gun. Watching his opportunity, Jadee made a quiet sign that he wished to speak to me, and when I went to him, hurriedly said, "Now, sir, now is our opportunity; capture this man; send his canoes away to say so, and tell Mahomet Alee we are alone this afternoon, and that Numero Tega will

fight him at once!" I pointed out to Jadee that the challenge might be very well, but that the capture of Loūng was out of the question, as he had come to us in the sacred character of a messenger. Jadee could not understand it at all, and walked away muttering something in which I heard "Mahomet Alee—pigs—and poltroons" generally mixed up.

Haggi Loūng was all smiles and civility, little thinking how hostile a proposition had just been made against him, and shortly afterwards rose to depart—an event I rather hastened, as it was impossible, with such inflammable materials as his crews and mine were composed of, to tell the moment a disturbance might take place. Jadee was rustling about like a game-cock ready for a row; and I saw him and a wild-looking Malay who steered one of the canoes, exchanging glances and curls of the lip which betokened anything but amity. Desiring Jadee to do something at the other side of the gunboat, I wished Haggi Loūng "good-bye," and had just lost sight of them round the point when my serang came aft all smiles and sunshine. To my queries he only smiled mysteriously, and replied I should soon know; and as this evidently referred to something connected with our late visitors, I began to have my fears lest a pleasant *divertissement*, in the shape of a creese fight, had been arranged between him and the Orson from Parlis.

Directly it fell dark, our consorts rejoined us; and whilst all the vessels were lashed together, prior to taking up their night positions, one of the lookout-men maintained that a long canoe had crossed the river above us, his quick eye having sighted her as she darted over

the bright streak of light which gleamed between the gloomy shadows of either side. From one of our prizes we had captured a long fairy-like canoe, scooped out of the trunk of a tree; with six paddles she would fly through the water. Barclay and I jumped into her at once, and, with a mixed crew of Malays and Englishmen, gave chase to the stranger. It was top of high water, or nearly so; the tide, as usual, had overflowed all the neighbouring land (except the high patch of ground on which stood the little village previously referred to), and the dark stems of the mangroves and other trees, which seemed to flourish in an amphibious life, stretched away on either hand from the river in a black and endless labyrinth.

A few deep and silent strokes brought us up almost noiselessly to the spot where the stranger had been seen to cross, although we were in the shadow on the opposite side of the river; the paddles were laid across our boat, and the steersman alone kept her going gently up the stream. We were all eyes—now looking in among the dark waters, out of which rose the black and solemn trunks of the trees—now eagerly gazing across to the opposite side of the river. Almost instinctively, we all pointed, without speaking a word, to a canoe twice as long as our own, which had evidently seen us, and was apparently waiting to see whether we were in search of her, or for us to show our intentions. We did not keep them long in suspense.

"Give way," exclaimed Barclay, "and get above them!" In a moment our paddles struck the water, and our craft seemed to lift and jump at every stroke.

The other canoe was not idle; for a few minutes it was doubtful which would win, and we could hear the men cheering one another on to exertion. "A scout! a scout!" exclaimed our Malays; "the prahus will be down when the ebb-tide makes!" I told Barclay this. "I hope to God they will!" he exclaimed; "we shall be ready for them!" We now began to head the canoe. As soon as we saw we could do that, Barclay got his musket ready, and gave orders, directly he fired, for the helmsman to steer diagonally across the stream, so as to get on the same side as the craft we were in chase of.

Taking a deliberate aim at the scout canoe he fired, and we, with a shout, struck across for her, hoping either to lay her alongside or drive her back upon the gunboats. But we had counted without our host; and the Malays of our party gave a yell of disgust as the enemy disappeared as it were into the jungle. We were soon on her heels, and, guided by the sound she made in forcing through the mangrove swamp, held our course—now aground upon the straddling legs of a mangrove tree—then pushing through a thicket, out of which the affrighted birds flew shrieking—then listening to try and distinguish the sound of the flying canoe from all the shrill whistles, chirrips, and drumming noises which render an Indian jungle far more lively by night than by day. Once or twice we thought we were fast catching her, when suddenly our canoe passed from the mangrove swamp into an open forest of trees, which rose in all their solemn majesty from the dark waters. We saw our chance of success was now hopeless, for the scout canoe had fifty avenues by which to baffle us, and *terra*

firma was, we knew, not far distant. It was a strange and beautiful scene. The water was as smooth as burnished steel, and reflected, wherever the trees left an opening, the thousand stars which strewed the sky. The tall stems of the forest trees rose from this glittering surface, and waved their sable plumes over our heads; whilst the firefly, or some equally luminous insect, occasionally lit up first one tree and then another, as if sparks of liquid gold were being emitted from the rustling leaves.

Silently we lay on our oars, or rather paddles: not a sound of the flying canoe could be heard. It was evident that the scout had escaped; and it only remained for us to make the best of our way back again—a task which, in the absence of all excitement, we found an extremely tough one; indeed we grounded so often on the roots of the mangrove trees, that I proposed to wade through the mud and water, dragging the canoe after us. To this, however, the Malays would in nowise listen; and spoke so earnestly of the danger arising from a particular kind of snake, that we thought it better to listen to them—a piece of wisdom upon our part which gave rise to some congratulations on the morrow, when, in company with our advisers, we visited the mangrove swamp, and found in the fork of many of the trees a perfect nest of snakes. These, the Malays assured us, were very venomous; yet the reptiles were not above a foot or eighteen inches long, and about the girth of a man's little finger, the greatest peculiarity being strong black markings about the body, which gave them an appearance somewhat in keeping with their bad reputation.

Having, like most youths, read every book which I could get hold of descriptive of wild beast, bird, and reptile, from my reading I had been led to believe that the whip-snake was everywhere most dangerous; and I must say, when I observed a number of these long green-coloured creatures hanging like tendrils from the trees we had in the darkness of the previous night been pushing our way through, I felt thankful for our escape. Touching one of the Malays who were with me, I pointed at them and said, "They are very bad." He smiled, and assured me they were not by any means so dangerous as those in the forks of the trees in the mangrove swamps.

CHAPTER IX.

MAHOMET ALEE DOES NOT ATTACK—START CRANE-SHOOTING—DAYBREAK IN MALAYIA—THE ADJUTANT—THE "OLD SOLDIER!"—THE "OLD SOLDIER" FISHING—THE "OLD SOLDIER" WEATHERS A YOUNG SAILOR—NO CRANES—PLENTY OF MONKEYS—MONKEYS IN A PASSION—A SUDDEN CHASE OF A PRAHU—BIRDS' NESTS AND PULO BRAS MANNA—THE EDIBLE-NEST-BUILDING SWALLOW, "HIRUNDO ESCULENTA;" FOOD; HABITS—DECIDE UPON SEEING THE NESTS COLLECTED—DIFFICULTIES IN THE WAY OF DOING SO—JAMBOO ENJOYING COMPANY'S PAY—JAMBOO REMONSTRATES—A SCRAMBLE FOR BIRDS' NESTS—THE MALAYS DESCEND THE FACE OF THE CLIFF—THE HOME OF THE EDIBLE-NEST-BUILDING SWALLOW—THE BIRDS'-NEST TRADE—THE NESTS COMPOSED OF GELATINE.

THE chase by night was followed by no general attack from the piratical fleet, and we surmised that the scouts, having found us on the *qui vive*, had reported unfavourably of the probability of surprising the blockading squadron—a surmise which the inhabitants of the neighbouring village afterwards confirmed.

One middle watch in January, the lookout-man awoke me, and told me my sampan and gun were ready as I had desired.

I could hardly conceive it possible to feel so cold and cheerless at the short distance of 200 miles from the equator as I then did. The mist of the early night had

fallen in the shape of dew, wetting the decks and awnings as if it had been raining heavily; and a light breeze blowing down from the Patani Hills struck a chill into my bones, already stiffened by sleeping upon a hard and damp deck.

Day had as yet hardly dawned, but I was anxious to try and get a shot at some flocks of elegant white cranes of a small size, which nightly roosted on a clump of trees about a mile distant from my anchorage; and my only chance of being able to get sufficiently near, was to be there before they flew off to their feeding-grounds. Half lamenting I had troubled myself with any such sporting mania, yet unwilling to let the Malay see what a lazy individual his captain was, I threw myself into the canoe, grasped the paddle, and by a stroke or two awoke to the interest of the sport before me, and the beauties of a morning in Malayia.

The daydawn had already chased the stars away from one half the bright heaven overhead; the insect world, so noisy from set of sun on the previous day, had ceased their shrill note, whilst the gloomy forest shook off its sombre hue, and, dripping with dew, glistened in many a varied tint, as the morning beams played upon it, or streamed down through the mountain gorges beyond. The Indian Sea laughed with a thousand rippling smiles, and the distant isles seemed floating on clouds of purple and gold as the night mists rose from their level seaboards, and encircled the base of their picturesque peaks.

One could have cheered with joy and heartfelt healthful appreciation of the glorious East; but no! not far beyond

me, on a projecting shoal, stands the tall adjutant, who had as yet baffled all our attempts to shoot him—a very king of fishing-birds. He formerly used to fish in the Parlis river; but our seamen in the cutter, who would brook no competitors in their poaching pursuits, fired and fired at the poor adjutant without hitting it, until, by way of revenge, they nicknamed it the "old soldier"—a term which, in their estimation, comprised all that was wary, and difficult to catch at a disadvantage. The "old soldier" loomed like a giant in the grey mist flowing from the forest, and he evidently saw me as soon as I did him; but knowing from experience the distance to which his enemies might be allowed to approach with safety, he strutted out a pace or two into deeper mud or water and pursued his fishing. I, however, did not intend to fire until I reached the cranes, which I could see clustering in some trees ahead; and the adjutant, as if fathoming my intentions, or, what is more likely, taking me for a Malay (who never disturbed him), let me pass within moderate shot distance.

I was interested in seeing how he captured his prey, and watched him narrowly. The bird stood like a statue, in a foot of water and mud, the long legs admirably supporting the comparatively small body, a long neck, and such a bill! It looked as if it could cut a man in two, and swallow him. Presently, from a perfect state of quietude, the adjutant was all animation, the head moving rapidly about as if watching its unconscious prey; a rapid stride or two into a deep gully of water, a dive with the prodigious beak, and then the adjutant held in the air what looked like a moderate-sized conger-eel.

Poor fish! it made a noble fight; but what chance had it against an "old soldier" who stood ten feet without stockings, and rejoiced in a bill as big as one's thigh, and some four feet long? The last I saw of the poor conger-eel was a lively kick in the air, as "the soldier" lifted his beak and shook his breakfast down.

My resolution to shoot cranes alone was not proof against the temptation. I saw before me not only a thumping bird, but—alas! for the frailty of a midshipman's appetite!—a jolly good breakfast in the contents of his maw. A more convincing proof of my not being a thoroughbred sportsman could not be adduced than my allowing such base feelings to actuate me. I stealthily laid my paddle into the boat, capped my fowling-piece before lifting it from between my feet; but the "old soldier" had his eye upon me, and directly I stopped paddling, commenced to walk away from his old position. By the time I took aim, a long range intervened between us, and, of course, all I did was to ruffle his feathers, and send the "old soldier" off, as usual, at "the double," —thus losing adjutant and fish, as well as the cranes, which took flight when the echoes of the forest carried the report to them.

My firing had, however, disturbed more than cranes; for a screeching and chattering noise in the jungle on my right made me load again rapidly, and paddle with all my strength for a nullah or watercourse from which these sounds were, I felt certain, coming. On obtaining a view of it I saw at once what was the matter—a school of black monkeys had been alarmed; and when I turned my canoe so as to go up the narrow creek of water which

led into the forest, the fighting monkeys of the little party seemed determined to frighten me out of it. I never saw anything so comical: the ladies and babies retired, whilst about a dozen large monkeys, perfectly black except their faces—which were grey or white, giving them the appearance of so many old men—sprang along the branches that reached across over my head. They worked themselves up into a perfect fury, shrieking, leaping, and grinning with rage. Once or twice they swung so close over my head, that I expected they were going to touch me; but, amused beyond measure, I was determined not to fire at the poor creatures. Whether, as in the case of the "old soldier," my resolution was proof against all temptation, I had not time to prove; for the sullen boom of a gun from Parlis river rolled along the forest; and being the signal for an enemy in sight to seaward, I left the monkeys for a future day, and hurried back to my vessel, just reaching her in time to start in chase of a prahu that had been seen running for an island called Pulo Bras Manna. The breeze sprang up fresh and fair, and my little vessel soon rattled over the eight miles of distance which intervened, but not before the prahu had disappeared behind the island. Skirting the rocky shores of Pulo Bras Manna, we discovered the prahu at anchor in a pretty little sandy bay, the only one in the island. The nicodar, or master, hailed to say he was a friend; and, on my getting alongside of him, showed proofs of her being a peaceful trader, employed in collecting the edible birds'-nests constructed by the *Hirundo esculenta* of naturalists, with which all these islands abound. I was right glad

to have an opportunity of gleaning any information about an article of commerce so novel and strange to all Europeans. The nicodar informed me that all the adjacent islands yielded birds' nests for the Chinese market in a greater or less degree, the more rocky and precipitous islands yielding the larger quantity. The right of taking them was for the time vested in Tonkoo Mahomet Said of Quedah, on behalf of his sovereign; but he had farmed them out for a year to some Penang merchant, who paid a certain rent, and screwed as much more as he could out of the birds' nests. The nicodar of the prahu had entered into a speculation by which he promised a certain number of nests to the merchant, provided he might have the surplus—an engagement which he assured me would this year be a very losing one.

My attention had often been previously called to the little birds which construct these curious nests. They might be constantly seen skimming about the surface of the sea in the neighbourhood of the Malayan Islands. In form and feather they looked like a connecting link between the common swallow and the smallest of the petrel tribe—the Mother Carey's chicken—ever restless, ever in motion. Sometimes they appeared to skim the water as if taking up some substance with the bill from the surface; at other times darting, turning, and twisting in the air, as if after fleet-winged insects. Yet neither in the air nor on the water could the keenest eye amongst us detect anything upon which they really fed. However, the Malays asserted that they fed upon insects and upon minute creatures floating upon the surface of the sea; and that, by some arrangement of the digestive

organs, the bird, from its bill, produced the glutinous and clear-looking substance of which its nest was constructed—an opinion in some manner substantiated by the appearance of the nests, which in structure resembled long filaments of very fine vermicelli, coiled one part over the other, without much regularity, and glued together by transverse rows of the same material.

In form, the edible nests resemble the bowl of a large gravy-spoon split in half longitudinally, and are, in all respects, much smaller than the common swallow's nest. The bird fixes the straight edge against the rocks, generally preferring some dark and shady crevice in a cliff, or a cave formed by the wash of the waves of the sea. I am rather inclined to believe that the swallow which constructs these edible nests is a night-bird, and that the day is by no means its usual time for feeding; indeed, I hardly ever remember observing them, except early in the morning, late in the evening, or in the deep shadow afforded by some tall and overhanging cliff; and they appeared to avoid sunlight or the broad glare of day.

Although the nicodar of the prahu was necessarily very civil, he did not willingly assent to my proposal to accompany his men on their excursion to collect nests; but Jadee recommended me to wait quietly until we saw his party starting, and then to proceed and join them, *nolens volens;* though he warned me that curiosity would hardly induce me to undergo, a second time, the risk the nest-gatherers went through for large profits.

In a couple of hours' time we saw a party land from the prahu and join some half-dozen Malays who lived

in a hut on the beach. Awakening my interpreter, Jamboo, who, being upon Company's pay, gave way to sleeping and rice-eating with a degree of perseverance which astonished me, I hastened away with him, and before his eyes were well open, we were scrambling through break and jungle, at a headlong pace, the Malays having evidently determined to shake us off by hard walking. The consequence was that poor Jamboo, with a howl, went rolling over the rocks, and tried hard to detain me. I saw only one remedy, and started off to catch the nearest party of nest-gatherers, and keep them until my worthy interpreter was able to join. I soon succeeded in showing them that a young sailor's legs were as good as theirs; and having a pistol with me, there was no difficulty in making two Malays sit down until Jamboo, in reply to my repeated hail, came up, muttering at the hardships his duty as a midshipman's interpreter was ever leading him into. Laughingly consoling him by the strong doubts I entertained of his ever again seeing his dear Penang, I added, "Now then, Jamboo, tell these fellows *we* are going birds'-nesting with them."

"By Gad, sar! you kill me, sar! Me poor man, sar! What my mother do?" remonstrated poor Jamboo.

"Never mind about the old lady," I replied; "do what I tell you, and come along.—Why, Jamboo, you, the son of an Englishman, and not ashamed to talk in that strain?" I continued; "fancy if your father could only see you, and hear that his son was afraid of going birds'-nesting!"

"Ah, sar!" replied Jamboo, "you only make play

now. My father very brave man—so my mother say; but I never see him; and my mother never teach me to go down dark holes with a little bit of rope, and swing about in the air, all the same as one bird."

I had at last to promise Jamboo that he should not have to "swing about in the air, all the same as one bird," and thereupon he informed the two Malays they were to go on in the execution of their vocation, but that we would keep with them.

The Malays had on little if any clothing: each man carried a sharp bill-hook, with which to cut his way through the underwood, with an iron spike of considerable length; and a torch made of bark and the resins exuded from forest trees. A small bag for containing the nests, and a coil of roughly-made rope, strong enough to support their weight, together with a flint and steel, completed the equipment.

We climbed a long though steep ascent, which led to some precipitous cliffs on the opposite side of the little island. Our way led through a pretty close jungle, with much underwood overgrowing rocks, fissures, and boulders, in all directions: a more break-neck walk I had never before undertaken; and as we went straight across country, over and through everything, Jamboo's clothes, as well as mine, were torn into shreds and decorated every thorn or ragged stump. To add to the excitement, the Malays kept a sharp eye about them in the hollows or where the vegetation was very dank, and muttered the ominous word "Oular!" snake, as a warning to us. However, I felt that it was out of the question to depend upon one's keenness of vision for security against such

reptiles, when the creepers and grass were up to my waist, and sought a little consolation in my friend the Haggi's creed of predestination.

At last we reached the edge of the cliff, which stood about 200 feet above the sea, having many deep fissures in its face, and several caves at its base. After sitting down to rest for a short time, the Malays went to work. Each man drove his spike very carefully in the ground, secured his rope to it, slung his bag and torch across his back, and, after repeating a Mahometan paternoster, lowered himself down the cliff by means of his rope, and proceeded to search the caves and crannies for birds' nests. Accustomed though I was, as a sailor, to see great activity and much risk run, still it fell far short, in my estimation, of that undergone by these Malays: in some places they had to vibrate in the air like a pendulum, to gather sufficient momentum to swing in under some overhanging portion of the cliff, the wretched rope by which the man was suspended a hundred feet above the chafing sea and rocks below, cutting against the sharp edge of the cliff, to use a nautical simile, "like a rope-yarn over a nail." Here and there the men picked up a nest or two, but at last one of them who had lowered himself down to within ten or twelve feet of the water, shouted out that he had discovered a cave thickly tenanted with the birds, of which we had ocular demonstration by the numbers that flew out when they heard his voice.

Leaving Jamboo to help me, should I fail in climbing up as the Malays did, I slid down to the newly-discovered cave of nests. The nest-seekers smiled at my curiosity, and pointed into a cave with a narrow entrance, out

of which a smell was issuing which partook neither of frankincense nor myrrh, and of an inky darkness which the keenest eye could not penetrate. There was a narrow ledge of rock which led into the cave, and on this we advanced until out of the wind and daylight: the Malay now struck a light and lit his torch, and his doing so was the signal for the most infernal din mortal ears were ever pained with; the tiny chirp of the swallows being taken up and multiplied a thousandfold by the beautiful echoes of the cave, whilst huge bats flitted round us, and threatened not only to put our light out, but to knock us off the narrow ledge on which we stood, by a rap on the head, into the black cleft below, which seemed to descend to the very foundations of the cliffs. Holding both hands to my ears, I asked the Malay to show me the nests: he waved his torch about, and pointed some of them out in spots overhead, where it appeared as if only a gnome could have gathered them; the poor Malay, however, explained to me that he must go up and cut some saplings and branches to form a ladder by which he could reach those apparently inaccessible nests, though not, I could well see, without considerable risk. Satisfied with what I had seen, I returned to the top of the cliff aided materially by the Malay, who, like a goat, found footing where gulls could only have roosted, and joining Jamboo, we returned alone through the forest to my little craft.

Then and afterwards I gleaned, from different sources, that the trade in birds' nests employed a very large amount of capital and men. The loss of life arising from accidents and exposure was extraordinarily large; but

the high prices obtained insured no lack of labour. One person largely engaged in the trade assured me that, on an average, two out of five men employed in birds'-nesting met with a violent death; and, under those circumstances, it is not to be wondered at that a catty (or a pound and a quarter English) of the best nests costs generally forty dollars, or about nine pounds sterling!

The value of the nests depends upon their translucent whiteness and freedom from feathers or dirt; the first quality being those which evidently have not been lined, or used, by the unfortunate little swallows. Such nests are nothing but a morsel of pure gelatine; and having often eaten them in their native state, I can vouch for their perfect tastelessness; indeed, upon one occasion, after being twenty-four hours without food, I enjoyed birds' nests boiled down in cocoa-nut milk.

The Chinese employ them largely, as well as *bêche de mer*, shark-fins, and other gelatinous substances, in thickening their soups and rich ragouts.

CHAPTER X.

RETURN TO PARLIS — DATOO MAHOMET ALEE'S SANGUINARY THREAT—JADEE HAS, WE FIND, SENT AN ABUSIVE MESSAGE—JADEE REPROVED—JADEE'S FEELINGS ARE HURT—CHARACTER OF MY NATIVE CREW—A PAGE ABOUT NATIVE PREJUDICES—ONE OF THE MALAYS MUTINOUS—CURE FOR NATIVE PREJUDICES—MALAYAN JUNGLE-SCENERY BY DAYLIGHT—BLACK MONKEYS—A MONKEY PARODY UPON HUMAN LIFE—ENGLISH SEAMEN AND THE MONKEYS—SCARCITY OF FRESH WATER—THE VILLAGE OF TAMELAN—A MALAY CHIEFTAINESS—WATERING—SNAKES DISAGREEABLY NUMEROUS—STORIES OF LARGE SNAKES.

FROM Pulo Bras Manna and birds' nests we returned again to Parlis, just saving daylight enough to find our way over the bar and its shallows. On reporting myself to the senior officer, I was not a little astonished to learn that, in consequence of the wanton insult received from me and my gunboat, Datoo Mahomet Alee had sent down an uncivil message, declaring the "Numero Tegas" *hors de loi*, and had sworn by his beard, that so surely as he caught me, or any of my crew, from the valiant Jadee to the toiling Campar, no mercy would be shown. Quite at a loss to understand the origin of so sanguinary a threat—for I and Haggi Loūng had parted the best of friends—I guessed that Jadee had been at

some nefarious tricks. At first he pretended to suppose that the wrath of the pirate arose from my destruction of his stockades; but this I felt sure was not the sole offence, and at last he acknowledged that the Polyphemus who steered the canoe had jeered at him, and insinuated that it was unbecoming for Malay men to be commanded by a white boy, alluding to myself. To which Jadee had replied by stating, it was his opinion that the mother of not only the one-eyed gentleman, but those of the gentry up the river in general, were no better than they should be—that their fathers were dogs, and their chiefs pigs! and the sooner they all came down to try the strength of the Company's powder the better pleased he should be. I saw at once what had excited Datoo Mahomet Alee's ire, and that he no doubt identified me with Jadee. All my efforts to point out to my worthy coxswain the impropriety of his conduct failed: he was satisfied with having brought about a state of feeling which added materially to the excitement of himself and crew; and although, whilst I was speaking to him, he seemed as repentant as possible, I saw in a minute afterwards he had forgotten my admonition, and would be a Malay in spite of me. With any other than an Asiatic, such abuse and challenges would have partaken of the character of mere bravado; but it was not so in Jadee's case; and I had to be careful not to let him think I fancied it was so: for on one occasion, when he asked me what the Rajah Laut (Captain Warren) would think of it, I said I feared he would be very angry, and would rather doubt his courage than otherwise. Jadee, I saw, was sadly hurt at this, sulked for

a day or two, and when I quietly got him into conversation, he said if Captain Warren should really express such an opinion, he had but one course, and that at any rate would prove he did not fear Mahomet Alee and all his crew put together. I knew what he meant—to run a-muck amongst the pirates, a desperate resource of every Malay when he fancies himself irredeemably injured in character, or when rendered reckless by misery. Armed with his creese, one man will, in such a mood, throw himself upon any number of foes or friends, and stab right and left until himself shot down or creesed as a mad dog would be.

With a little kindness, and a gentle introduction to my small store of grog, of which Jadee had not a Mahometan horror, I gradually brought him round to a better frame of mind; indeed, by the end of the second month, I perfectly understood the character and disposition of all my crew. Secure in the feeling of awe for a white master which the native of India and Malayia cannot shake off, I was enabled to treat them far more familiarly than I could have done English seamen, without subverting the discipline of a man-of-war. I found them all obedient to a degree, so far as I was personally concerned; but there were sometimes irregularities arising from Jadee's imperious treatment of them, or from the feeling of utter contempt in which they (the seamen) held my interpreter, the worthy Jamboo—a feeling arising purely, I fancy, from his being an unfortunate half-caste, a man of no nation or blood.

Whenever these cases did occur, I punished the Malays exactly as we were in the habit of doing English-

men; and although they sometimes stared at the novelty, the system answered admirably, notwithstanding that the native gentleman in the Diamond gunboat assured me it must end in mutiny and danger to my person. Like all Asiatics, the Malay, if he finds you will listen to what are termed national prejudices, will produce an endless store of them, to avoid doing anything but what happens to please him. He sees a Sepoy soldier encouraged in all sorts of prejudices; he sees a fellow who would quiver under your very look were you alone with him in an open field, allowed to be grossly abusive and insolent to an English officer if the latter should by accident touch his water-jar, or cross the magic circle drawn round his cooking-place, under the plea that his Brahmin or Mahometan prejudices, forsooth, have been infringed upon; and the Malay, very naturally, would like to have some recognised prejudices likewise.

The one they wished to establish in our little squadron was the right of treating the wretched half-caste interpreter with contumely. I determined to dispute the prejudice; and although the affair occurred later in the blockade than the period I am now referring to, still I shall relate it now, as illustrative of one of the many misapprehensions people labour under with respect to Malays. A prahu had escaped me one night, owing to the want of vigilance in the lookout-men, and I, in consequence, made arrangements for Jadee, the interpreter, and myself to take the watch in turn, besides stationing a lookout-man as usual. One night, after Jamboo had relieved me at twelve o'clock, I lay upon deck, but could not sleep, fancying I heard some unusual

noises in our neighbourhood. Jamboo went forward in a quarter of an hour's time, and found the lookout-man sound asleep. On rousing him, the fellow—a young, smart, but excessively saucy Malay—instead of thanking him, called him an abusive name. I desired Jamboo to give him an extra hour as sentry. Shortly afterwards, the Malay was again off his post, and again abusive. I got up and spoke to him, assured him of a severe punishment if he persisted in such conduct and language; but it was of no avail; and about two o'clock a *fracas* took place, in which I heard the Malay apply the foulest epithet in his language to the interpreter, and he persisted in repeating it when I ordered him to be silent; in short, he became so violent and threatening, I had to iron and lash him down.

I saw that there would be an end to my authority, if the fellow was not punished by a severe flogging; and I sought Mr B——'s authority for carrying it into execution. He advised me to see the native officer, who commanded the senior gunboat, in the first place, but fully sanctioned a severe punishment. Mr S—— was very averse to any such thing, and wanted to stop the prisoner's rice or his pay. I was obstinate, however, and carried my point, although he warned me of all sorts of fatal consequences as likely to ensue.

Next day, with all due formalities, I carried the law into execution, lashing the culprit to the bow-gun. He could hardly believe his senses; and when the first lash was laid on, shouted for rescue, and appealed to his countrymen not to look on and see him beaten like a dog. He altered his tone, nevertheless, when he found

no rescue likely to come, and vowed never to disobey me again—a promise he afterwards faithfully kept; and from that time I had no more trouble in No. 3 with that national prejudice, at any rate, and slept just as soundly, and placed just as much faith in my swarthy crew, as ever I had done, without having any cause to rue it, the culprit eventually becoming one of my right-hand men.

I had not forgotten the fact that monkeys abounded in our neighbourhood; and although both my brother-midshipman and myself perpetrated all sorts of atrocities at first in shooting the poor creatures, we soon desisted, and satisfied ourselves with wasting powder and shot on less interesting creatures. Monkey Creek, as we termed the place which they most frequented, was our usual afternoon lounge; and after our light and necessarily wholesome dinner (consisting of her Majesty's rations adorned with a little rice, and occasionally a plate of fish), Barclay and I did not, of course, feel a siesta by any means necessary, but, jumping into the sampan, we would paddle gently up Monkey Creek, to enjoy the cool shade of the forest and amuse ourselves. Passing clear of the belt of mangrove, we soon floated amongst the luxuriant vegetation of an Indian jungle—the underwood here and there giving place to small patches of grass or weed. Large alligators which had been ashore on either bank launched themselves slowly into the creek, or turned round and kept a steady watch with their cruel-looking yellow eyes. Bright-coloured iguanas and strange-shaped lizards shuffled along the banks, or lay on the branches of trees, puffing themselves up so as to look like nothing earthly; the shrill call of the pea-

hen and the eternal chattering of monkeys gave life and animation to a scene which did not lack interest or beauty. Pushing our canoe in amongst the overhanging wild vines and creepers so as to hide her, we sat quietly smoking our cigars to await the curiosity of the monkeys. It was not long before they commenced their gambols or attempts to frighten us. A string of black ones, whose glossy coats would have vied in beauty with that of a black bear, came breaking through the trees with frantic cries, and threw themselves across the creek and back again with amazing energy; then a hoarse sound made us turn suddenly, with a flashing suspicion of Malay treachery, to meet the gaze of a face almost human, with a long grey beard, which was earnestly watching us through the foliage of a withered tree; bring a gun to the shoulder, and the old man's head would be seen to leap away upon the disproportionate body of some ape. But nothing could equal in ludicrous interest a family monkey-scene taking place in some clear spot at the base of a tree. There a respectable papa might be seen seated against the roots, stretching out his legs, enjoying the luxury of a scratch, and overlooking with patriarchal pride, and no small degree of watchfulness, the gambols of his son or daughter; while with fond solicitude his better half, a graceful female monkey, was employed turning aside the tufts of grass, as if seeking nuts or berries for the little one; then she would clutch the little rascal, and roll over with him, in all the joyousness of a young mother, and he, the tiny scamp, shrieked, pouted, and caressed her, as any master Johnny or dear Billy would have done. The

whole scene was a burlesque upon human nature : unable to contain ourselves any longer, we burst into roars of laughter. The father leapt at once on a neighbouring branch, and shaking it with rage, whoo-whoo'd ! at us through a very spiteful set of teeth ; the lady screamed, the baby squealed and jumped to her breast, clasped its little arms round her neck, and its legs round her chest, and then with a bound she was off and away with her "tootsy pootsy;" papa following, and covering her retreat with venomous grins at us, whom he evidently considered only a superior breed of apes.

Such scenes we often witnessed ; and, to the Englishmen in the cutter, the monkeys afforded an endless source of mirth ; and the quaint comparisons they drew between some of these sylvans in the forests of Quedah, and sundry Daddies Brown, or Mothers Jones, at Portsmouth or Plymouth, though extremely laughable and witty, would, I fancy, have been thought far from flattering, had they been heard by the old people in question.

The main difficulty experienced in maintaining a close blockade of a coast such as Quedah, arose from the want of fresh water with which to supply the daily wants of our men. On Crab Island, all the wells we dug yielded only salt water ; the river was always brackish ; and as the dry season advanced, the wells upon the islands to which we usually resorted began to fail us. We were despatched in quest of water, and, at the suggestion of one of the men, who knew this neighbourhood, proceeded to a place called Tamelan.

This village was about twenty miles distant, and situ-

ated on a small river called the "Setouè," which discharges itself into a very picturesque but shallow bay.

After some difficulty, we discovered the Setouè, and proceeded up it a few miles, and alarmed the inhabitants of Tamelan not a little by our sudden arrival. The village was prettily situated on a high bank, and consisted of about a hundred neatly-built mat houses, scattered through a grove of cocoa-nut trees, which extended for a mile in a line along the Setouè river; either end of the cocoa-nut grove rested on a dense jungle, which swept with a large semicircular curve behind the village, leaving ample clearance for the rice-fields and wells of the inhabitants. Tamelan, strangely enough for a country where women are not held in high repute, was under the rule of a petty chieftainess, called "Nicodar Devi;" her title of Nicodar arising from her possessing the prahus which had carried these Malay settlers to the reconquered village.

We of course gave her brevet rank, and christened her Queen Devi; and a perfect little queen she was. A messenger immediately waited upon me, offering all she had, and trusting we would not molest her people. I immediately visited the Malay queen, and soon set her mind at rest by stating that we merely wanted water. She sent men to deepen the wells ready for the morrow, and, in short, did all that was possible to assist me. Nothing could exceed the respect and deference paid to this lady by her clan; and we soon learnt to appreciate the kind and hospitable chieftainess—the first Indian woman I had as yet seen treated otherwise than as a drudge or a toy.

She was not more than five-and-thirty, and still very good looking; her manner was extremely ladylike and authoritative, and I took good care she should be treated with the utmost respect by all my people. The inhabitants of Tamelan and Numero Tega soon became great friends, and they willingly sold us all they could spare of fruit or fowl.

While my crew filled the water-casks and embarked them, I generally employed myself butchering doves, wild pigeons, and orange-coloured orioles, which fed in large numbers in the open grounds or amongst the houses.

There was only one serious drawback to sporting such as mine, and that consisted in the great number of snakes which were to be found in the cleared grounds, especially in the neighbourhood of the many holes dug as wells by the Malays. I fancy the great heats and long droughts had caused these reptiles to congregate where water was to be found. The Malays killed them in numbers. I counted on one occasion no less than eight of these reptiles lying together, all crushed in the head, and although not large in girth, they varied in length from five to seven feet.

The natives of Tamelan declared most of them to be of the boa-constrictor species, not dangerous in their bite, but, when large, capable of killing a man or a strong deer by enveloping him in their folds: they said it was their poultry which principally suffered, but spoke of monsters in the deep forests, which might, if they came out, clear off the whole village—a pleasant feat for which Jadee, with a wag of his sagacious head, assured

me that an "Oular Bessār," or big snake, was quite competent.

It was strange but interesting to find amongst all Malays a strong belief in the extraordinary size to which the boa-constrictors or Pythons would grow; they all maintained, that in the secluded forests of Sumatra or Borneo, as well as on some of the smaller islands which were not inhabited, these snakes were occasionally found of forty or fifty feet in length; and the vice of incredulity not being so strong in me then as it is now, I gave full credence to their tales, and consoled myself by remembering, when my faith was taxed by some tougher tale than usual, that my respected schoolmaster in the village of Chudleigh had birched into me the fact, attested by even a Pliny, that a snake 120 feet long had disputed the passage of a Roman army on the banks of the Bagrada, and killed numbers of legionaries before its skin could be secured to adorn the Capitol.

CHAPTER XI.

JADEE DECLINES TO CLEAN THE COPPER—A MALAY PREJUDICE—A MALAY MUTINY—THE LOST SHEEP RETURN—THE DIFFICULTY SURMOUNTED—MALAYAN MECHANICAL SKILL—AN IMPROMPTU DOCK—AN ACCIDENT, AND QUICK REPAIRS—LAUNCH, AND RESUME STATION—LOSS OF MY CANOE—A SAMPAN CONSTRUCTED—THE MALAYAN AXE OR ADZE—INGENIOUS MODE OF APPLYING NATIVE MATERIALS IN CONSTRUCTION OF BOATS.

I HAD but one *fracas* in my gunboat with my Malays, which, considering how young and inexperienced I was as a commander, was less than might have been expected; but as it assumed a rather serious character at one time, and showed the disposition of my men, it may be worth relating.

I had repeatedly pointed out to the coxswain, Jadee, that it was highly necessary, with a view to preserving the speed of the Emerald, that the copper with which her bottom was covered should be kept as clean as possible, and where it was visible that it should shine like that of the Hyacinth—a vessel I naturally looked upon as my model in every nautical respect.

Jadee, however, shirked the question, and the copper did not improve. I then ordered him to clean it on the morrow, employing the whole crew for the purpose. He

began a long rigmarole story about Malaymen not liking to clean copper.

I cut him short by saying white men did not much like doing it either; but it was our principle to clean every part of a vessel, and that at nine o'clock in the forenoon on the morrow I expected to see that the work had been done. I dined with Barclay on board the cutter, and paddled myself back in the evening in my canoe, and although Jadee received me respectfully, I saw he was sulky: like more civilised first-lieutenants, he wanted to have his own way; but I took no notice of that until next morning, when at the proper time I looked over the side and found the copper still very dirty. I need scarcely say I was very angry.

Jadee caught a thorough good wigging, and said something about being afraid of ordering the men to do it. I immediately desired him to pipe "Hands clean copper!" He did so. "Every man in a bowling knot and over the side!" I next directed; and then, seeing that they knew what I wanted done, and were at work, I said, in all the Malay I could muster, that the copper was to be cleaned daily, and pointed out the necessity of a clean bottom to catch fast prahus—a truism I could see they were perfectly aware of. All hands were soon splashing about cleaning the copper, and I fancied my difficulties at an end; addressing Jadee, I told him that I had had to do at nine o'clock what he should have commenced at five o'clock; but that when the copper was clean, he could call his people out of the water, and meantime I was going to shoot in my canoe. He bowed silently, as if accepting my reproof, and I left the Em-

erald. Firing at alligators and kingfishers, cranes, fish-hawks, and wild pigeons, I did not return for three or four hours. As I was paddling past the cutter, my friend Barclay hailed me, to say I had better go and see what had happened, as Mr Jadee and all the crew had just passed him, swimming and wading towards the senior gunboat, the Diamond, but he could not understand what they said. On reaching the Emerald, I found no one on board of her but the cook and Jamboo. The latter was in a great fright, and vowed he did not know what would next happen, as all the crew had struck work *after* cleaning the copper, and, with Jadee at their head, had gone to the half-caste officer on board the Diamond to say so. Much amused at the novelty of a man-of-war's crew swimming away from her, I disguised my anger; and leaving word with Jamboo to say, when they returned, that they should not have gone out of the Emerald without my permission, I proceeded to explain to Barclay all that had occurred.

He, of course, was very indignant at what with Englishmen would have been accounted mutiny. I begged him, however, not to be too severe, and to give Jadee and his men an opportunity of coming round quietly. Leaving me, therefore, on board the cutter, he went to the Diamond, and there found Mr S—— in a state of great excitement at what had taken place, and vowing some direful accident would occur to me if I did not study the native character a little more, instead of carrying out my orders in so strict a manner. Barclay, however, was an excellent clear-headed officer, and he knew I was generally considerate to the men; he there-

fore desired Mr S—— to point out to Jadee that he had committed a sad breach of discipline, and that so surely as I reported him or others officially, for deserting their colours in the face of an enemy, he would be put in irons and sent off for Captain Warren to adjudicate upon; and, as an only alternative, the best thing they could do was to hurry back before I discovered that they were absent upon anything but amusement.

Finding his little scheme fail, Jadee, like a wise man, yielded at once, swam ashore, crossed Pulo Quetam with his men, and went off to the gunboat, resuming their usual avocations as if nothing had happened.

About a couple of hours afterwards I returned on board, reprimanded him for going to collect shell-fish (a common employment during the day) without my sanction, and then, raising my voice, said, "Clean the copper again to-morrow morning, and give me the name of the first man who hesitates to do it!"

Next morning Jadee reported all ready for quarters at nine o'clock; and, with a roguish twinkle in his eye, asked if I was satisfied with the copper. I found it as bright as a new penny. Through the interpreter, I then quietly told the men that I had heard some of them did not like cleaning the copper. I was sorry for it; and, in order that they might escape from it, I should, the very first opportunity I had, take to Captain Warren all those that objected. The copper soon became so bright that I had to check their polishing ardour; and some days afterwards I intentionally ran upon a sandbank, and was left high and dry by the ebbing tide, spending the whole of a tide cleaning every part of my gunboat's

bottom; and found the crew work as if there never had been a difficulty upon the subject, Jadee setting the most zealous example. Henceforth the swim of Master Jadee became a joke; and when I saw him looking sulky, I used generally to put all smooth again by saying, "Don't go swimming again, Jadee; tell me what your reasons are for not liking what I have said, and I will give you a white man's reasons for desiring it should be done."

The general skill of the Malays as handicraftsmen often struck me; and they were in nowise inferior to our English seamen in that invaluable quality of finding expedients in a time of need where none appeared to exist—a quality known among sailors under the general term *nous*. No difficulty ever arose, in the shape of carpentering, sail-making, or seamanship, that I did not find among my thirty men some one capable of meeting it, although none of them were professed artificers.

My gunboat's rudder had become slightly injured at the lower part in crossing the bar during a squally dark night, and I determined to construct a tidal dock on the mud-bank which ran out from Pulo Quetam, and there remedy the defect.

Directly I explained to Jadee what I wanted, he and a quartermaster said it could easily be done, and offered to construct it in such a way that, with a little trouble, we could launch into the river off the bank at any time of tide. I willingly assented, and next day all hands went to work. A spot was chosen at low water, and an excavation made, until good firm clay was reached; the shovels and pickaxes being for the most part impromptu

ones, made by the Malays out of the hard wood of the neighbouring jungle. Small trees were then cut in lengths the width of the dock, all the branches neatly lopped off, and the trunks were laid across, to form sleepers, secured firmly in their places by wooden pegs, driven down through them at either end into the clay; these sleepers were carried down in a line reaching well into the water when the tide was at its lowest; and then two stringers of squared-out timber were laid down longitudinally on the aforesaid sleepers, so as to take the gunboat's bilge, should she incline on one side or the other; and they likewise extended from the dock down to dead low-water mark.

The object of these stringers was to form a way upon which the gunboat might be launched at any time into the river without waiting for the tide to rise and float her. In six tides everything was as neatly and cleverly finished as if I had had a body of English shipwrights. At high water we placed the Emerald over our dock, which was carefully marked out with poles; and as the water fell, although it was night-time, the vessel was admirably squared and shored up: the whole strength of a British dockyard could have done no better.

At low water we repaired the rudder; and as every movable article had been shifted out of the gunboat to make her as light as possible, we adjourned under the trees of Pulo Quetam to eat our breakfast, and listen to the various tales of my men, of how the natives of the different parts of the archipelago dock their prahus or secrete them in their low and tide-flooded jungles.

Suddenly the Hyacinth hove in sight from Parlis,

with the signal up, "I wish to communicate;" and Mr Barclay sent me word that if I could get afloat at once I was to do so, as he was going off to the ship. I had my doubts; for the Emerald was built very solidly, and of heavy teak; but Jadee smiled at my doubts, and although he acknowledged he had never played the prank before, still he felt confident of being able to launch her now.

The plan was to ease her bilge down upon the longitudinal sleeper on one side, knock away the stern shores, and then, aided by the natural inclination of the bank, let her slip down to the water, so as to float with the first of the flood-tide instead of at high water. We secured the masts carefully, lashed the stoutest tackles and hawsers half-way up them for easing the vessel down, drove two stout Sampson-posts into the mud to secure the easing-down tackles, and when all was done, the shores on one side were cut away, and the strain allowed to come on the posts and tackles; unhappily, one of the latter got foul, jerked, and carried away, and in a moment my poor craft fell on her side with a heavy surge, and, as ill-luck would have it, a piece of one of the shores, left accidentally, stove a plank very badly between two of the floor-timbers.

There was no time to be lost; the tide would soon make, and if my gunboat filled, I knew I should, in midshipman's phraseology, "catch it." My men set at once to work. Jadee and two good hands started off to cut wood to repair the damage, whilst I superintended the wedging-up of the gunboat, so as to take the strain off the injured part, and disengage the piece of wood on

which the vessel was impaled. By the time we were ready Jadee returned with a piece of green but hard wood cut out of a felled tree, and this formed an admirable patch. In a short time the Emerald was as sound as ever; and two hours after the accident had happened we resumed our station off Parlis.

Another example of their skilful handling of the raw materials the jungle afforded, was in the construction of a sampan or native boat. I had lost my little canoe; but on one of the islands, called Pulo Pangang, or Long Island, good fortune threw in our way two long planks, of a wood named *peon*, about two inches thick, and maybe each was thirty feet long. Jadee exclaimed immediately, "Ah! Sutoo (the quartermaster) will build you a sampan now, Touhan." I gave him full permission to do so, wondering withal how it was to be done, for we had not, I knew, a handful of nails in the gunboat, and our stock of carpenter's tools consisted of two native axes and an old hammer, which latter article, named a toukel-besee, was, by the by, always in Jadee's hands, for he delighted in noise, and, when not better employed, his pleasure consisted in hammering home, for the hundred and fortieth time, all the unfortunate nails in my argosy.

Next day, the quartermaster (Sutoo) and his two assistants landed on Pulo Quetam, with the said tools and the quantity of plank I have mentioned: three weeks afterwards, a nice little boat, about twenty-two feet long, capable of containing ten persons, and pulling four oars, was launched! The only expense or trouble I was put to consisted in the purchase of a rupee's worth

of *damar*, a resinous substance applied generally in Malayia to the same purposes for which we use pitch and tar.

The little Malay axe, in the hands of these ingenious fellows, had done all the work, and, as a tool, it is unique. The handle is about two and a half feet long, light and tough, and capable of being used in one hand; moreover, it has a curve in it like the handle of an English adze. Over the tool end of this handle, a neat rattan grafting is worked in such a manner that the haft of the tool may be held firmly in its place. This tool is in form very like a broad ripping-chisel, except that the blade is not more than three and a half inches long. The workman uses it as an axe or an adze, as he may wish, by simply turning the blade one way or the other in the groove of the handle; and, when necessary, he can take it out of the long handle, fit it temporarily into any rough piece of wood, and make a chisel.

No tree is too big, no wood too hard, for this little tool in the hands of these dexterous fellows. With it my men had cut out a keel, stern, and stern-post for my sampan, dovetailed them together, and secured them with strong pegs. The planks were then bevelled and countersunk into the keel, secured there with more wooden pegs, which seemed to do as well as nails in their hands; and, by means of dowell-pins, the two planks were brought carver fashion on each side, one edge on top of the other, the interstices filled up with damar and a felt-like substance collected from palm-trees.

The boat was still too low on each side to float, and as cutting a plank of two inches thick out of a tree with

an adze would have been a tedious job, I was curious to see how that difficulty was to be surmounted. They did not keep me long in suspense. Long bamboo dowell-pins were let into the edge of the upper plank by means of a red-hot ramrod which was used as an auger. The stems (or, botanically speaking, the midribs) of the leaves of a dwarf palm were next collected, and driven down longitudinally one on top of another on these dowell-pins, until the gunwale had been raised to the necessary height, and then a neat rattan work secured all down to the slight timbers. The thwarts were soon put in, dependent solely upon the timbers and a light sort of stringer of bamboo, which ran round the interior of the sampan, and served to bind all firmly in a longitudinal direction. A primitive species of tholepin was next secured, and then the paddles cut out; and thus the Emerald junior was built. On an emergency, such a simply constructed craft might have carried a crew from Quedah to Singapore; and, at any rate, I hardly think we can say of a people capable of exhibiting such skill in the adaptation of the crude materials at hand to nautical purposes, that they are an unintelligent race, or deficient in mechanical ingenuity; and that we should allow them a higher place amongst Eastern nations than the earlier writers seem inclined to yield to them. The Portuguese historian, De Barros, for example, sums them up as "a vile people, whose dwelling was more on the sea than the land." If this be a crime in the Malay, I may say there are other nations of the present day most certainly to be included in the same category.

CHAPTER XII.

RETURN TO QUEDAH—NATIVE DEFENCES—THE "TEDA BAGOOSE"—SCARING AN ALLY—DIFFICULTIES WHICH ACCOUNTED FOR THE DELAY OF THE SIAMESE—INCHI LAA ACKNOWLEDGES THE EFFECTS OF OUR BLOCKADE—SEVERITY TOWARDS THE MALAYS—A PRAHU FULL OF FUGITIVES CAPTURED—INTELLIGENCE SUDDENLY GAINED OF SIAMESE ARMY—DESERTERS—THE MALAY FORCES OUT-MANŒUVRED—SERIOUS LOSSES OF THE MALAYS—INCHI LAA—SHAMEFUL ATROCITIES OF THE MALAYS—EXCHANGE OF COURTESIES—PERMISSION GIVEN FOR THE WOMEN TO ESCAPE—PREPARATIONS FOR FLIGHT.

About February the 20th, I returned to my old station off Quedah, the two blockading divisions of boats changing their posts. The only perceptible alteration was the completion of a fascine battery we had remarked the Siamese prisoners to be at work upon in December, and that a few more guns had been placed in defensive positions around the old fort. A gingal battery, constructed for overlooking the approaches of an enemy, was an interesting specimen of Malayan woodcraft and ingenuity. When clearing away the jungle to construct the fascine battery, we observed that they spared four or five lofty trees which were growing near together; these trees now served as supports to a platform of bamboos, which was hoisted up and lashed as high as possible in

a level position; all superfluous branches were lopped off, and the whole well frapped * together with cords, so that the cutting away of one tree alone would not endanger the structure. A crosspiece, or breastwork, was built upon the platform overlooking the landward side, and then a long and ugly swivel-gun was mounted, such as we, in the days of good Queen Bess, should have styled a demiculverin; and the whole was lightly thatched over to shelter the wardours, a light ladder of twisted withes enabling them to communicate with the battery below. A more formidable obstacle in the way of scouting parties and skirmishers, or to prevent a sudden assault, could not, in a closely wooded country, have been extemporised.

Our rigid blockade had evidently pressed sadly upon the Quedah folks: they looked big, but were low-spirited; the fishermen had ceased to visit their weirs; few canoes were to be seen pulling about off the town, and when we inquired where they had all gone, we were informed that the fighting men had marched to ravage the Siamese territory. As yet no signs of our allies, and in a few weeks' time the dry season would be drawing to a close. To be sure, a queer-looking brig had joined us, under Siamese colours, and commanded by two captains! the fighting captain a Siamese, the sailing one a Penang half-caste; but the care they took to keep out of gunshot of Quedah fort argued but little for the pluck or enterprise of our allies. We gunboats, unknown to

* "Frapping" is a term used when two spars or stout ropes are bound together by a cord which drags them out of their natural position or right lines.

Captain Warren, used often to run alongside the brig, which rejoiced in at least a dozen guns of different size and calibre, and try hard to get the skippers to move sufficiently close in to draw the Malay fire; but it was no use: the worthy fighting captain would only shake his head, and say, "Teda bagoose! teda bagoose!" or No good! no good! We therefore named the brig the "Teda bagoose," a *sobriquet* which, to say the least of it, was not complimentary to his Majesty of Siam.

The skipper, however, was a man of a forgiving disposition, and evidently held me in great respect, after I presented him with a gold cap-band in token of our alliance; and he often came to listen to Jadee's glowing death's-head-and-marrow-bone stories of what a thorough-bred Malay pirate would do with the brig and her crew, if it should be her good fortune to fall into the hands of such gentry. Jadee was sore that the Siamese should appear in the character of conquerors over his countrymen, and evidently took a malicious delight in frightening them, when he found we could not hope to draw them into a scrape—an amiable amusement, in which I believe he perfectly succeeded. The brig, however, moved off to about half-way to where the Hyacinth usually anchored, and remained there until one day, in a fit of heroism, they attacked and captured a messenger, called Inchi Laa, who used to pass, under a flag of truce, from the Malayan authorities to Captain Warren; and as they got a severe snubbing for doing so, and Jadee playfully informed them that our Rajah Laut was not unlikely, if they committed similar breaches of etiquette on the high seas (which, of course, all belonged to the

Company), to blow them and their brig out of water, she weighed one fine morning, and was not again seen, until the close of the blockade.

"Hope deferred maketh the heart sick;" and when March came in without any appearance of the army of 30,000 Siamese that were on the 1st of December to have marched from Siam against Quedah province, we began to hold our dark-skinned allies uncommonly cheap as belligerents, whatever they might be in other respects. Looking, however, at a map of the Malayan peninsula, and taking into consideration the wild, and in many places pathless, jungle which covers it, it did appear to be an undertaking of some magnitude for any Asiatic army, unsupported with all the European appurtenances of war, to march from Bankok to Quedah, crossing numbers of deep and rapid though short streams which flow from the central mountains to the sea on either side, and by which the active and amphibious Malays could always threaten their flanks or throw themselves on their line of communication. To check this manœuvre, however, was our purpose in blockading the piratical squadrons, and, as the result proved, we were perfectly successful. On March 4, the secretary to Tonkoo Mahomet Said, a Malay gentleman in every acceptance of the word, named Inchi Laa, whom I have before mentioned, came off from Quedah to communicate with Captain Warren. We all observed an expression of anxiety in the generally calm and handsome face of the Inchi; and as he was detained some time on board the blockading boats, we had an opportunity of asking him a few questions. He owned that our rigid blockade of

the coast was a sad calamity to the Malays; the more so that it showed we were determined to support the Siamese in their unjust sovereignty of Quedah. We prevented the Malays, he said, availing themselves of the sea and rivers for carrying out the tactics of a race who had no equals upon the water except the "Orang-putihs;" and that, apart from stopping reinforcements and supplies of powder and arms, we distressed them sorely from the stoppage of supplies of salt, without which they could not live, and all of which had to be imported.

To our queries about the present position of the Siamese forces Inchi Laa was more reserved, except that he said, with exultation, that the Siamese fled before Tonkoo Mahomet Type-etam, and that the latter—a distinguished Malay warrior, whom we all knew by ill-repute—had, after severe fighting, taken and destroyed the town of Sangorah, on the shores of the opposite sea.

Sangorah we knew to be an important town, the seat of government in the Malayu-Siamese province of Ligor, and the authorities charged with the administration of the tributary Malay states—such as Patani, Calantan, and Quedah—usually resided there. It did not deserve the sounding term of "the great, the beautiful Sangorah!" applied to it by an editor of a local journal in the Straits of Malacca; but it was, doubtless, a severe loss to the Siamese, and likely to raise the whole of the tributary states, in the hope of shaking off an allegiance at all times irksome. We naturally were disappointed at the news, in so far as our hopes of a brush with

Quedah fort were concerned; but, somehow or other, one could not help feeling admiration for the Malays—a people without a nation or dwelling-place—driven out of the peninsula by the Siamese and Portuguese in days long, long gone by; persecuted and harassed into piracy by the practice and example of the Spaniard and Dutchman; and then, in our day, hunted down, shot, and hung as felons, unless they would, on the instant, eschew evil practices which had been bred in their very nature by the rapacity and injustice of European nations.

The Inchi, however, left us impressed with the belief that there was a reservation in what he had told us—but what that reservation was no one could guess until the morrow, when the facts came to us by mere accident. I had gone off with my gunboat to the Hyacinth, for the purpose of obtaining permission to practise my crew at firing at a target, when, from the ship, a prahu was seen to come out of the jungle some three or four miles south of Quedah. We were sent after it, and after a long chase we caught and brought her to. She was full of women and children, packed as close as they could be stowed, to the fearful number of forty souls, in a craft of about the capacity of an ordinary pinnace. Unable to get any coherent account of who they were, owing to their fright and their evident desire to mislead us, I began to believe Jadee was right in asserting that she was a native slaver, and consequently made a prisoner of her nicodar, proceeding with him and my prize to the Hyacinth.

Jadee entered into conversation with my prisoner, and after a long harangue, in which I could perfectly under-

stand that he was calling upon the man to speak the truth, and holding out, as an inducement to do so, the possible contingency of being blown away from our bow-gun or hung at a yard-arm, or, as the mildest of all punishment, working in chains for the term of his natural life. The unfortunate nicodar, aghast at such threats, clasped him round the legs, and implored him to do anything rather than send him back to Quedah. He then briefly explained that all the poor creatures in his boat were fugitives from the province, on their way to Penang, or some other spot under the British flag; that a numerous Siamese army had crossed the frontier, and was destroying every man, woman, and child; and, pointing to long columns of smoke which we had been under the impression were distant jungle fires, the nicodar assured us they were caused by the ravages of our faithful allies, as well as by the Malay chieftains, to place a desert between the frontier and Quedah fort.

I hastened on board the Hyacinth with what I knew would be grateful intelligence to my gallant captain, who was labouring under a severe attack of fever and ague, contracted in long and arduous service on the West Indian station many years previously. The excitement on board the ship was intense, for they had long been heartily tired of lying off a coast at the distance of three or four miles, seeing nothing and hearing little. The mast-heads were soon covered with men, who however could see nothing but a distant column of smoke rising here and there in the calm and hot atmosphere. I was desired to take the prahu close in off the fort, so as to let the garrison and inhabitants know that we had at

last ascertained facts, and then to dismiss her on her way to Penang. This was done: the poor creatures went on, their road rejoicing, whilst the English musquito squadron cheered heartily on learning the intelligence I had to communicate to them.

There was considerable excitement among the good folks of Quedah, at such an unwonted degree of merriment upon our part; and Inchi Laa soon came off, under some pretext, but evidently to ascertain "what was up."

We soon told him; and he calmly replied, as he left us, that he thought it must be something far more important than the fact of a Siamese army approaching, which would make us so joyful. But we saw, after he landed, that there was a great commotion in the town; and towards dusk a small canoe sneaked out, under the plea of fishing, but eventually ran alongside our boats.

The natives in her said that Mahomet Said had ill-treated them, and that they wished to desert from Quedah, carrying off their women and children; we did not believe their excuse for "ratting," and therefore detained them for the night, and next day sent them off to the ship for a permit.

During the night we gleaned from them further particulars of the state of affairs in the interior; and their tale fully accounted for the sudden arrival of the Siamese army. It appeared that, in execution of the plan of operations which Haggi Loŭng, at Parlis, had told us was going to be pursued, the Malays organised an army, and sent it under their best soldier, Tonkoo Mahomet Type-etam, to attack the province of Ligor, and so keep

the Siamese acting on the defensive. Great success for a while attended the Malays: they swept through the tributary state of Patani, gained numbers of adherents, put all of the enemy to the sword, and eventually, as we already knew, captured and sacked Sangorah.

Meanwhile, a division of the Siamese forces, ten thousand strong, under the Rajah of Ligor, threw themselves across the Quedah frontier, intercepted all Type-etam's communications, cut him off from home, and, by forced marches and admirable generalship, surprised an important military position called Allegagou; stormed two batteries which commanded it, and put to death the entire garrison of six hundred Malays. The unfortunate force under Type-etam, in Sangorah, was thus cut off and destroyed in detail; he and a few desperate men only escaped by cutting their way through the Siamese army, and rejoined their compatriots at Quedah.

Until the capture of Allegagou, the Siamese army had been without cannon of any sort, either field or siege pieces, but there they had succeeded in capturing one of the former, besides several others fitted for position-guns; and this, of course, rendered them all the more formidable to the Malays. The atrocities the Malays accused them of perpetrating were truly fearful, and a war of extermination was evidently their policy. A panic had consequently taken place in Quedah; and not only were the women and children of the pirates connected with the late inroad anxious to escape, but we learned that the Malays who had formerly submitted to the Siamese rule, and lived in the province until Prince Abdullah made his rash attempt to repossess him-

self of it, were now flying before the irritated army of his Golden-tufted Majesty.*

Hardly had we despatched our communicative friends to the Hyacinth, when the emissary, Inchi Laa, was again seen coming off. He had ceased to be as reserved as of yore, returned very warmly our English salutation of shaking hands, and smiled with good-natured incredulity at our sanguine hopes of soon having possession of Quedah. He assured us that every mile the Siamese advanced into the disputed territory only rendered their perfect defeat more certain; and he explained away the loss of Allegagou, and the body of men under Tonkoo Mahomet Type-etam, by saying that the enemy far outnumbered the Malays, and that the wisdom of attacking Sangorah, although it had cost many valuable men, was proved by the long delay of the Siamese forces.

The Inchi was most indignant—and we all cordially joined him in that feeling—at the fearful atrocities which, he told us, had been perpetrated by our Siamese allies; and he swore by Allah no Malay man had ever been known to wantonly torture women and children as those devils did. "If," said Inchi Laa, "the woman and the child, because they are our country people, deserve death—let them die! but, beyond death or slavery, there should be no punishment for those who cannot help themselves,"—an opinion to which we all uttered an "Amen." He then craved permission to proceed to the Hyacinth, to make arrangements for the departure of a number of defenceless creatures whom

* "Golden-tufted Majesty," one of the many titles of the Emperor of Siam.

Mahomet Said wished to send to Penang and Province Wellesley, to save them from the wrath of the Siamese.

We smiled at the cool confidence betokened by such a request; and on asking Inchi Laa, "Why he thought it probable the English would allow the women and offspring of men declared to be pirates, to escape and seek an asylum under the very flag they had abused?" his reply was characteristic: "Every Malay-man knows, Tuhan, that the white men (Orang-putihs) can fight; but every Malay-man knows that they war with men, and not against women and children!"

We accepted his neatly-turned compliment, politic though it might be at such a time, and determined not to do aught unworthy of so high a reputation. Inchi Laa returned a few hours afterwards, looking supremely happy, and delivered to the senior officer of the boats, Mr Barclay, an order to allow all unarmed vessels to pass out, provided they only carried women and children; but on no account to permit more than just men enough to navigate the craft to Penang, and they also to be unarmed.

In the evening a message came from Tonkoo Mahomet Said, to express his grateful thanks for the humanity extended to the defenceless portion of the population, and to warn us that they would start at midnight.

It was too late to remonstrate at the choice of an hour which looked very like an attempt to evade the necessary search by our boats, so we merely gave notice, that all vessels trying to pass would be sunk, and that they were to come alongside, to enable us to assure ourselves of no breach in the agreement.

For several days past we had observed that great numbers of canoes, small prahus, and native craft had accumulated along the face of the unfortunate town. These, doubtless, had been driven down from the upper part of the river by the progress of the enemy. As the day advanced, the signs of an approaching exodus gave us some cause for anxiety lest, under the plea of a flight, a large body of men should be brought down to board the two gunboats and cutter—which was all the force we had. We therefore took every precaution—cleared for action; loaded our guns; placed one gun for sweeping the deck with musket-balls, and the other to command the narrow gap through the stockade, by which, whether as fugitives or foes, the pirates must come out. Sunset and the brief twilight of an Asiatic evening soon passed into a calm but very dark night, adding still more to the difficulties of our position; and the obscurity, for a while, was so little broken by unusual appearances, that we began to fancy the Malays had postponed their flight.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE LULL BEFORE THE STORM—THE EXODUS—A SCENE OF CONFUSION AND DISTRESS—THE MALAY CHIEFTAIN'S WIFE—BAJU-MIRA—THE CONVOY—AN EXTRAORDINARY APPEAL—MIDWIFERY SIMPLIFIED—A NIGHT-SCENE—A MIDSHIPMAN'S EMOTIONS—A MALAYAN HOURI—RESIGN MY CHARGE AND RETURN—AN ATTEMPT TO ENSLAVE THE FUGITIVES.

THE flood-tide continued to flow into the Quedah river until about ten o'clock, and beyond the hum of voices from the town, and the melancholy wailing noise made by the sentries in "calling their posts," there was not until top of high-water anything to denote the scene of activity which so soon ensued. But just after the ebb-tide had commenced to run out, at eleven o'clock, the whole population of fort and town rose as if it were one man. The hoarse shouts of men, the shrill cries of womankind, and the bleating of goats, with many a shrill crow from the everlasting game-cocks, betokened some unusual commotion. Torches in great numbers soon threw their glare of light over a perfect multitude on the banks of the stream beyond the fort, and evidently embarking for the projected flight.

The splash of oars and paddles was next heard, and then a perfect *débâcle* took place, for out of the narrow opening of the stockade, where the pent-up tide caused

the stream to shoot through like a rapid, flowed out upon us prahus of all sizes, canoes, *topes*, and even rafts, laden as heavily as they could be with human beings.

It was indeed a wild and wretched scene, strange and exciting though it might be to us. The torches carried in some of the canoes threw a vivid light over the black river and jungle, and brought out in strong relief the groups of excited men and women. "Anchor! anchor!" we shouted, "or we must fire." "Mercy! mercy!" shrieked the women and old grey-bearded men. The nicodars yelled out orders, invoking all the saints of Islam. Babies struck in with their shrill piccolos, and the wifeless, womanless garrison left in Quedah seemed determined to show what good heart they were still in, by the wild, yet not unmusical cry of "Jaggā, jag-gāā!" or, "Watch there! watch!" We, the blockaders, got under way, and slashed to and fro across the entrance of the stream, firing an occasional blank cartridge at some craft that tried to escape being searched, having perhaps on board more than the proper complement of men, or, as in one case, because some notorious pirate, who had rendered himself amenable to our laws, was desirous of escaping an interview with a petty jury and a British recorder at Penang.

By four o'clock in the morning the exodus was over, and we lay at anchor with a black mass of native vessels of every size and shape around us: many of the canoes threatening to sink alongside, we were forced to take the unfortunates upon our decks, adding still more to the scene of confusion. My boat's crew, bloodthirsty Malays though they were, employed themselves from midnight

to day-dawn boiling and serving out rice to the half-starved women and children.

The sun rose upon the strange scene, just as all were falling to rest from an anxious and sleepless night. On counting the fugitive vessels, we found one junk, one tope, five large prahus, and one hundred and fifteen smaller craft, the whole of them containing probably three thousand souls, of which two-thirds were women and the remainder made up of children, old decrepit men, and a few adult Malays, to convoy the whole and navigate the different vessels to a place of safety. Two births took place during this sad night of confusion.

During the day we were employed thinning out the people embarked in some of the most unsafe canoes. We searched and discovered some secreted arms, and forced several men (where we found their numbers more than sufficient) to land and take their chance, instead of endangering the lives of the women and children. In the junk, independent of a mob of women and children of every shade and class, we discovered the wife and family of Tonkoo Mahomet Said. He had evidently been afraid to avow his intention of sending them, and merely trusted to the promise that had been given to respect all women and children. The Tonkoo was not disappointed; and Captain Warren ordered me to embark the chieftainess and family, and convoy them, as well as the junk and larger prahus, to Penang, not only to insure them against shipwreck, but to guard against the dashing enterprise of His Siamese Majesty's brig, the Teda Bagoose, which to our sorrow made her appearance off Quedah just at this juncture. She had

ascertained that the Malay boats only contained women and children, and her captain was, to use our English seamen's phrase, "full of fight."

Towards evening a fine fair wind sprang up off the land, and we prepared to start. I placed two trustworthy men on board each of the junks, and in two of the largest prahus, and receiving on board Mahomet Said's family, we all weighed and made sail just at dark, the canoes, rafts, and other frail craft proceeding close along the jungle's edge.

The largest junk sailed so badly that I had to take her in tow; and the breeze freshened so much as to make me feel very anxious for all my deeply-laden convoy, and so far as a youth of seventeen can feel the responsibility of his position, I think I did mine.

The chieftainess was a slight graceful-looking woman, almost as fair as a Spaniard, with a very sweet expression of countenance, though it was not youthful, and bore deep traces of care stamped upon it. She was neatly clad in shawl-pattern materials. Her family consisted of a lovely girl, of perhaps twelve years old, and two babies in arms, attended by a nurse. Midshipmen are a susceptible race, and I was no exception to the rule. I felt as an embryo Nelson should do—a perfect knight-errant, and I, in quest of a lady-love, had, by a freak of good fortune, lighted on a pirate's beautiful daughter: the whole thing was delightful, and I should like to have seen "John Company" dare to touch a hair of the head of Baju-Mira while I was by. Poor Baju-Mira—or Red-jacket, as I at once christened the object of my admiration, in consequence of her wearing the prettiest

Indian shawl-jacket that ever was seen—was perfectly unconscious of the sudden attachment she had awakened in one who, from her frightened fawn-like ways, she evidently supposed was only one of the ruthless destroyers of the amiable fraternity to which her parents belonged. However, that was perfectly immaterial to me. I had made up my mind to be her slave; that was enough for any one whose poetry had not been, so to speak, knocked out of him by fair Dulcineas. We cleared out my cabin, removed all the hatches, put a screen across the deck, to give the party as much privacy as possible, and indeed did all we could to make our passengers at their ease. The lady descended into the cabin with her infants and nurse, and Baju-Mira had a couch formed upon deck on one side of the hatchway, whilst two of the chieftainess's retainers, most grim-looking Malays, squatted themselves down near at hand, evidently for the purpose of watching over the party—an arrangement I willingly assented to, though, Heaven knows, nothing could have been more kind or respectful to them than all my crew were, from Jadee downwards.

The night was clear and starlit, but the north-east monsoon blew fresh, as it often does towards its close; the prahus, which I had ordered to keep close to me, laboured heavily in the sea, and leaked so as to require constant baling, the women and children working for their lives with a very primitive sort of bucket, made from the bark of a species of palm-tree. In the middle watch one of the prahus sailed close alongside of us, and the men I had put in her hailed to say that one of the women was about to bless her lord with an addition to

the family. I desired the fellows to hold their tongues and proceed on their course; the nicodar, or captain of the prahu, would hear of no such thing, and begged to be allowed to speak to me.

I lowered our sails, and consented that he should jump on board the gunboat; and in a trice I found a Malay clutching me round the legs, and, with tears in his eyes, imploring me to go on board the prahu to help his wife. I assured the man I was no doctor, and could do no good, and desired Jadee to tell him as much, for by ill-luck I had left Jamboo on board the cutter with Mr Barclay. My assurances were thrown away upon the husband; I was a white man, and must be a doctor. Even Jadee seemed to think it purely false modesty upon my part, and argued, from my skill in curing slight derangements in the health of my crew (thanks to a few pills and some salts in the medicine-chest), that a knowledge of surgery in all its branches was the natural inheritance of his commander. I never was so puzzled in all my life; and finding escape from their importunities impossible, I consented to give the only assistance in my power. The husband, delighted, shouted for the prahu to come alongside, and I heard him jump on board of her, shouting that the white doctor was coming, while I went below for my prayer-book. Jadee and I then went on board, and after much squeezing reached a miserable little cabin, inside which, behind a screen, and surrounded by a crowd of women, the poor sufferer lay. Jadee, fully impressed with the idea that I was about to perform some incantation only second to his recipe for "killing the wind," looked as solemn and nervous as if he ex-

pected a demon to be instantly raised. My medicine was, however, a very simple one: I made Jadee hold a lantern, and, desiring all around me to be silent, I proceeded to read a few prayers from my prayer-book, addressed to Him who is the merciful God alike of Malay and white man; and then ordering the woman a good cup of tea from my little stock, I told the husband that God was great, and that, if He pleased, all would be well, and returned to my own vessel, leaving those in the prahu evidently much impressed with my value as a Bedan. In due time, about daybreak, one of my scampish crew held up on board the prahu a diminutive reddish-looking morsel of humanity, and assured me the lady was "as well as could be expected," the wag informing me that he recommended the baby to be called after our gunboat, "Numero Tega!" a name almost as characteristic as that of the sailor's child, who, to insure having a long one—none of your Jems and Bills—was christened "Ten Thousand Topsail-sheetblocks!"

It was about three in the morning, just after my first essay in the surgical way, and as dawn was breaking, that I seated myself on the deck, close aft against the taffrail on the lee quarter of my vessel, and, heartily tired with six-and-thirty hours' work, dropped into a sort of dog-sleep, my head resting on the sheet of the mainsail, which was set. My thoughts, however, would not sleep, but continued to skip in all the odd jumble of a dream over the scenes which had been thrust upon me within so short a space of time. Inchi Laa came chasing the Teda Bagoose with thousands of torches! Baju-Mira creesed me in the most approved style of Malay romance!

old Tonkoo Said made me read prayers to a whole haremful of women in an interesting condition! and the Lords of the Admiralty were busy trying me by a court-martial, for having women on board a vessel flying her Majesty's pendant! when a cry on the quarterdeck suddenly awoke me to the realities of what my good-hearted first-lieutenant used to call this "sublunary vale of tears." I saw poor little Baju-Mira standing up and rubbing her eyes, uttering that plaintive, subdued cry which children make when awakened suddenly from a sound sleep. I fancied she had awakened in alarm, and so did the helmsman, who was close by me; but in another moment, as the gunboat bent over to the breeze, she gave another sharp sob, and then, to my horror, walked or rather sprang overboard; but happily the mainsail stopped her, and as it touched her breast she started on one side with a shriek, and awoke as I caught hold of her.

Now would be the moment for a romantic climax, but, alas! there was only a general hubbub. The two sleeping Malays on guard, and the mother, nurse, and poor weeping Baju-Mira, had to be soothed, and to have explained to them that the latter had in her sleep nearly walked overboard; and to complete the riot, Jadee, who had been sleeping forward, rushed aft waving his abominable creese, followed by a dozen of his men. When Baju-Mira had had a good cry—don't laugh, reader, I kept the pocket-handkerchief in which the little Hebe wept for a long, long time, and only sent it to the wash when I was equally bad about an ox-eyed peri of Ceylon—the good chieftainess said, "Ah! Touhan, my poor child has seen and suffered enough these last few days to make her mad,

much more to cause her to walk in her sleep;" and I have no doubt she had. Badinage apart, Baju-Mira was lovely enough to have touched a tougher heart than mine: at her age, an Indian girl is just blooming into womanhood, and as lovely and as fresh as a flower can be, whose beauty in that fiery clime is but of a day. The child, the woman, mother, and old age tread on one another's heels, under an equatorial sun, with painful rapidity; perhaps it is on that account that the short heyday of an Indian or Malay girl is all the more romantic and lovable. Baju-Mira was not tall, but beautifully proportioned, and her slight waist seemed too small to support her exquisitely rounded bust; the neck and head were perfectly classical, and betokened Arab rather than Malay blood—an intermixture which was all the more evident in her oval face and beautiful features. Besides the usual quantity of petticoats, made in her case of very fine Indian shawls or Cashmeres, she had an under vest of red silk, fitting tightly to her figure, and over this another loose one of the same bright and becoming hue, not unlike an Albanian jacket. Her

> "Ebon locks,
> As glossy as a heron's wing
> Upon the turban of a king,"

were gathered off her face by the edge of a silk tartan scarf of native manufacture, which she wrapped round her head or person as was necessary; perfect feet and hands, strongly stained with henna, completed the picture of the little belle of Quedah; though I feel my attempt to delineate her falls short, far short, of the pretty trembling dream-like creature.

At sunrise, Jadee reported to me that one of the prahus was missing, and, strangely enough, one of those in which, for better security, I had stationed two of my own Malays. Desiring all the convoy to proceed to a spot called Quala Morbu, or Dove River, we altered course for the Bounting Islands, thinking the missing vessel might have parted company by accident, and gone there in the hope of meeting me. After four hours' search I discovered the truant quietly at anchor in a secluded cove. The men I had put into her did not give a very intelligible reason for having parted company, and I therefore removed them, and warned the master that martial law would be summarily applied if I saw any further attempt to evade my surveillance. Hardly had I again got my convoy together, and before a fine breeze all of us were rapidly nearing Penang, when I met the Diamond gunboat, and in obedience to the orders I had received, handed over my charge to her, parting from the chieftainess and my angelic Baju-Mira with mutual expressions of kindness and goodwill.

The Emerald, taut on a wind, began to make the best of her way back again; and after I had had a good rest, Jadee came to tell me that my two men (in the prahu which had parted company during the night, and given me so much trouble) had come aft to make a confession and beg forgiveness. It appeared that the nicodar, and three natives left in the prahu to navigate her, had during the night pointed out to my men an easy mode of realising a large sum of money, and escaping the drudgery of their present life: it was simply to give me the slip, and carry the prahu, with its freight of women and chil-

dren, to the coast of Sumatra, where they might be sold at highly remunerative prices! My men, it appears, were afraid to accede at once to the proposal, but I fear they expressed a willingness to share in the profits and risk if the nicodar could succeed in shaking off the society of the gunboat. I had, however, stopped their cruise by seeking them amongst the "Bountings." I must say I was very angry at my Malays for not giving me information of the treachery of the nicodar in time to have handed over that worthy to the mercy of the Siamese brig Teda Bagoose, whose gallant captains were like raging lions at the escape of all the fugitives: but for the men themselves, I merely tried to point out the villany of selling poor creatures into slavery who were going under their escort to what they supposed a place of safety. They, however, were rather obtuse upon this point, and evidently looked upon the women and children as merely amounting to a certain total, at from forty to fifty dollars a-head, and only sent into the world to minister to man's pleasures, or to be sold for his especial benefit.

CHAPTER XIV.

MALAY SLAVE-TRADE FOSTERED BY THE DUTCH—BRUTAL SYSTEM PURSUED BY THE PORTUGUESE—SLAVERY DOUBTLESS FOUNDED BY THE MAHOMETANS—RETRIBUTION HAS OVERTAKEN THE PORTUGUESE—AN ENLIGHTENED POLICY MOST LIKELY TO ERADICATE SLAVERY AND PIRACY—CLOSE BLOCKADE—THE CALL OF THE SIAMESE SENTRIES—THE CALL OF THE MALAY SENTRIES—DEATHS FROM WANT OF WATER—KLING CRUELTY—THE TRIAL AND VERDICT, AND PUNISHMENT—SIAMESE TORTURES—NOVEL MODE OF IMPALING A REBEL—EXTRAORDINARY PALM-SPEARS—REMARKS UPON NATIVE GOVERNMENTS.

THERE can be no doubt that slavery and the slave-trade exist to a very serious extent throughout the Malayan Archipelago; it is carried on in a petty way, but still with all the miseries of the middle passage. The great mart for the disposal of the slaves is the pepper plantations of Sumatra, which are in the hands of the natives, although the Dutch claim a sovereignty over them; and the native and Dutch planters on the coast of Borneo readily take the slaves off the hands of the Malay slave-catcher, and work them to death in the plantations and gold or antimony mines of those countries. The Dutch say they discountenance the slave-trade; they do so, however, merely in outward show. The first law they lay down for their Eastern subjects is, implicit submis-

sion to their cold-blooded system of political and commercial monopoly; the next thing is, the Lowland motto of "Mak' money; honestly if you can, but mak' money;" and I was told both by English and French captains of merchantmen employed collecting cargoes of pepper, that boats full of slaves used to arrive as constantly for sale at the different places they had visited on the Sumatran coast, as they formerly did in Rio de Janeiro harbour or the Havannah. We can understand, under such circumstances, what a harvest the slave-trader would reap in a province like Quedah, where the unhappy inhabitants were placed with the alternative of being impaled as rebels by Siamese, on the one hand, or hanged as pirates by Europeans, upon the other. To sell themselves, or fly for life and limb to the nicodar of a prahu, who would carry them elsewhere, and dispose of them for so much a-head, was merely, in such a case, a happy alternative; and in this, as in much else connected with the habits of the unfortunate Malay, we have incurred no small amount of responsibility.

Much, however, as the Dutch are to blame for their *present* spirit of aggression and selfish monopoly, in awakening the reckless spirit of retaliation, turmoil, and disorganisation of the Malays in the Eastern Archipelago, it falls far short of their former policy; and it is a question whether they or the Portuguese did most for two centuries, by a cold-blooded system of cruelty, towards demoralising the unhappy Malays; and assuredly, but for their warlike and nautical habits, the race would have been exterminated.

A history of the system they pursued, I am not now

purposing to write: but inasmuch as it bears upon the Malays' present character of pirates and slave-dealers, I may point out that, before European ships had as yet entered the Indian Ocean, fleets of Chinese junks, as well as the unwarlike traders of Indostan, used to carry on a brisk commercial traffic with, and through, the Malayan Archipelago, which, had piracy been as rife in the thirteenth century as it was in the early part of the present one, would have been utterly impossible; and slavery was, we know, unknown in Java at that time—and that is the only Malayan state of which authentic historical records have been preserved.

Doubtless with the introduction of the Mahometan creed into the Archipelago, slavery became a fundamental institution of the Malays; but the slavery allowed by Mahomet is of the mildest form, and the Koran especially enjoins kindness to the slave.

But the Pope and Mahomet had a hard race to win the souls of the Malays; indeed, many native states only embraced Islamism after the conquest of Malacca by the Christians! God save the mark! The houris carried the point, maybe, against Purgatory. Indeed, the important group of islands known in the present day as the Celebes only accepted Mahomet in 1495, and that was nine years after Bartolomeo Diaz rounded the Cape of Tempests, as he honestly styled the southern promontory of Africa. The Portuguese treated the Malays as infidels; and, as one writer, De Conto, observes of them, "they are well-made and handsome, but foul in their lives, and much addicted to heinous sin;" *ergo*, the Portuguese robbed, shot down, and conquered them, just

as the Spaniards, more successfully, did the Mexican and Peruvian.

Resistance to this iniquity has, I believe, made the Malay what he now is; and one can only rejoice in the decay, and pray for the total annihilation of a people who, like the Portuguese, so sadly abused the glorious mission the Almighty called upon them to fulfil, when to them were first given the keys of the golden East—its docile millions and untold riches.

When an Englishman, in the Straits of Malacca, sees a man with European features but dark-skinned as the natives, wanting in courage, energy, or character—a pariah whom the very Indostanee contemns—and hears that that man is a Portuguese, he recognises the just retribution of an avenging God; and on reading such a paragraph as the following—"All these people (Malays) that have fallen into the hands of the Portuguese have been made prisoners of war. Every year there is taken of them for sale a great number to Malacca"*—he naturally exclaims, The Malays have had their revenge!

One example of the Dutch policy may be quoted, and it is no singular instance of their phlegmatic cruelty:—John Peterson Koen, their most illustrious Governor-General of the Indies, exterminated the original inhabitants of the Banda, or Spice Islands, and replaced them by slaves. With such examples before them, can it be felony in the Malay to imitate the boasted civilisation of the white man? The piratical acts now committed in the Malayan Archipelago are, I firmly believe, the result of the iniquities practised upon the inhabitants in

* The Decade, v. book vii.

the olden day; and the Dutch, Spaniards, and English, even at the present time, are too prone to shoot down indiscriminately any poor devils who for the first time in their lives are told, with powder and shot arguments, that war as carried on by them is piracy by our laws. We shall never eradicate by the sword an evil which has become the second nature of every Malay who is, or who aspires to be, a free man. For three centuries the Dutch and Spaniards have been fighting with the Hydra, which their tyrannical despotism and commercial policy are ever fostering; and our extension of a free and enlightened system of government through the Straits of Malacca has done more to quell piracy and slavery there —by leading the naturally mercantile Malay to legitimate sources of emolument and occupation—than all the ball-cartridge and grape-shot which have been so ruthlessly lavished upon them.

Of slavery as it exists or existed amongst the Malays themselves, though it does not apply, I fear, to the poor creatures under Chinese, Dutch, or Spanish masters, we have the testimony of Mr Craufurd, one of our best authorities. He says: "The distinction between the slave and freeman, though it exists amongst the Malays, is not offensively drawn: the slave is not a mere chattel; he may possess or inherit property, purchase his freedom, and has in other respects his prescribed rights."

Many of my crew in the gunboat had in their youth been bought or sold as slaves; Jadee himself had been one, and none of them appeared to think much of their sufferings whilst in that condition. But I have dwelt long enough upon this subject, and will pass on to my tale.

After reporting to Captain Warren the fulfilment of my task, I again returned to Quedah river, and anchored alongside my old friend the cutter. The Siamese advanced parties had already closed down upon the unlucky fortress, and throughout the night a constant fire between the respective outposts was kept up. Our friend the Dove-cot (described at page 120) was rattling away at everything which moved along the edge of the jungle, and now and then the heavy boom of a gun, and the crashing sound of the grape-shot through the trees, gave testimony to the fact that the Siamese had indeed arrived. The night-calls of the opposing forces were peculiar, and seemed to be used as much for the purpose of cheering on their respective parties, as for the purpose of showing where they were.

The Siamese used an instrument like a pair of castanets, made, I fancy, of two pieces of bamboo; and admirably it answered its purpose. At certain intervals it would be sounded so faintly as to imitate some of the thousand insects of the jungle, then a long repetition of the same note would die faintly away in the distance; after that came a sharp short note, taken up in the same way, followed by a general rattle, as if all the *gamins* of London were playing upon pieces of slate. Hardly had the line of Siamese outposts ceased to show they were wide awake, when the Malay sentries would begin. Their cry consisted of the word "Jagga," each man taking up the cry before his comrade to the right or left had finished, and then with one long-drawn cry the whole of the sentries cried Jag-gā-ā-ā together in a very musical manner; a moment's silence, and again a pop-

ping commenced at one another, with an ocasional *mêlée* in which the sharp rattle of the Siamese castanets would be heard from right to left, showing how perfectly their skirmishers were beleaguering the poor fort. Towards daybreak all the fighting would cease; and we learnt that the Siamese light troops always then fell back upon the main body, still fifteen miles distant, near Elephant Mount.

Every night fresh parties of Malays passed out of the river in prahus, and canoes, and topes, which had been carefully hidden away in the tide-flooded jungle ready for such an occasion, and to avoid destruction should we have been called upon to make an attack by sea. The sufferings of these fugitives were truly harrowing; many of them had come down from distant parts of the peninsula, flying before the wrath of the Siamese, and finding but little sympathy from the Quedah Malays. Starved and wayworn, having lived for sad periods in constant dread of death and slavery, their appearance, and the stories they told, realised a picture of such utter misery, that one almost wondered how life could be sweet enough to them to make it worth their while to flee onwards. Penang and Province Wellesley were, however, their Goshen, and all we could do for the poor creatures was to wish them God-speed. One day, amongst the fugitive vessels, a large tope came out densely crowded with men, women, and children of different nations: there were Chinese, Indostanees, and Malays; and the men were mostly shopkeepers and vagrants who followed on the heels of the Malayan pirates to buy and sell. Some delay naturally arose in ascertaining that there were no

known pirates amongst them ; and next morning we were shocked to learn, on inquiring how all were on board of her, that several children and two women had died during the night from want of water!—a want not only we in the boats suffered from to some extent, but which we found to be very general with the people of Quedah; for the long-continued droughts had dried up all the wells, and obliged them to depend alone upon the river —a precarious means of supply, now that the Siamese were at hand, and fired on all the watering parties. Going on board to relieve the sufferings of the unfortunate women, so far as our small stock of water would admit, we were informed by a Malay that there were two *private* jars of water in the tope, and after some search we discovered two fat Bengalee merchants, or rather Klings*—a race who live on the seaboard of the Madras Presidency, and form a large portion of the Straits population—actually seated upon water-jars, and refusing to share it amongst the dying creatures at their feet. They had been long enough among Englishmen to know that we should not approve of their conduct, and had artfully arranged their robes and personal property so as to aid in concealing the water.

* Mr Craufurd, in his valuable work upon the Archipelago, says Kling is a Malay term given to the natives of the Telinga nation, in Southern India. The trade and intercourse of the Telingas with the Archipelago is of great but unascertained antiquity, and still goes on. Many have settled in Malayia, and their mixed descendants are tolerably numerous. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese speak of them as carrying on trade at Malacca ; and Barbosa describes them as "wealthy merchants of Coromandel, who traded in large ships."

I hardly know who was most indignant amongst us at this discovery; but Barclay and I held a drum-head court-martial upon the two brutes, and decided, *coute qui coute*, to give the black villains a lesson in humanity. We declared them guilty, and passed sentence of death, to be commuted for personal correction. The two culprits turned perfectly livid with fear; for Jadee, as usual, had his creese at hand, and a great big-boned coxswain of the cutter tucked up his sleeves, and requested permission to, what he called, "polish them off."

Barclay and I, however, did not want to figure in the Penang courts of law, and decided therefore on applying a correction to the Indian merchants where no bones would be broken, and where they would be very unwilling to produce proofs in open court of our illegal proceedings. Keeping our countenances like a pair of Solons, we had administered to them four dozen strokes with a piece of flat wood like a sleeve-board, to the extreme delight of all our seamen, and the astonishment of the fugitives, who had resigned themselves to the idea that the Klings were merely men of strong religious principles, who would not share their water with heretics.

Inchi Laa paid us a long visit one evening, and, unsought by us, proceeded to detail fearful stories of the cruelties exercised by the Siamese. At the time I gave him credit for magnifying facts; but from other sources, such as Jamboo, who knew a good deal of the Siamese habits, and a Malay man in my crew, who had served in a Siamese naval force equipped at Bankok, I heard sufficient to verify some of the horrid atrocities committed. Many of their cruelties will not bear repetition; but two

refined modes of torture I will venture to describe; and the Inchi assured me that some of their unhappy countrymen and women had been subjected to them.

One was cooking a human being alive: a hollow tree, either naturally so or scooped out by manual labour, was left with merely its bare stem standing; into it a prisoner was put naked, his hands tied behind his back, and a large piece of fat lashed on his head. The tree was then carefully coated with an unctuous mud to prevent its ignition, or, if it did ignite, that it might merely smoulder, and then a slow steady fire was maintained round it, the unfortunate victim's sufferings being by these means terribly prolonged, his shrieks and exclamations being responded to by the exultant shouts of his executioners.

Another torture was that of carrying the pirate or rebel down to the banks of a river where a peculiar species of palm-tree grows, and, choosing a spot in the mud where the sprout of a young plant was just found shooting upwards, which it does at the rate of several inches in twenty-four hours, they would construct a platform around it, and lash their miserable victim in a sitting posture over the young tree, so that its lance-like point should enter his body, and bring on mortification and death by piercing the intestines—in short, a slow mode of impaling.

Of the possibility of this last torture being performed, I can almost vouch; for although not botanist enough to name the peculiar species of palm-tree which is used, I have often seen it growing both on the banks of the Setouè and Parlis rivers. I believe it to be the Nipa palm, but I am by no means certain. It grows to no

great height, and when full-grown has little if any stem, the large and handsome leaves waving over the banks of the Malayan stream like a bunch of green feathers springing from the mud. The young plant springs up from the earth in a peculiar manner; the embryo leaves are wrapped in solid mass together, *round their own stems*, forming one solid green triangular-shaped stick, ranging in length from four to six feet, and having a point as hard and sharp as a bayonet.

These palm-spears, if I may use the term, the Malays pluck before the leaves attempt to expand, and in such a state they make a formidable lance—Jadee assured me, sufficiently so to enable a man to pierce the tough under cuticle of an alligator. I have often amused myself throwing them like a dart. The rapidity with which these young plants shoot up in the rich vegetation and sweltering heats of an equatorial jungle is almost inconceivable: the Malays declared that they might be *seen growing*, but Jamboo told me that he had often known a sprout to shoot an inch and a half in a night, from which we may picture to ourselves the sufferings of the unfortunate Malay impaled on one of them.

The well-known torture of rubbing people over with wild honey, and lashing them to trees near the large venomous ants' nests of the country, until bitten to death by them and other insects, was, we were told, commonly practised; but the climax to the tale of horror was the gambling which took place upon the capture of an unfortunate Malay woman who happened to be *enciente*, the stakes depending upon whether the infant was a boy or a girl, the diabolical game concluding

with the death of the mother, to decide who were winners.

Such are the cruelties perpetrated by these wretched native monarchies; such have been the miseries which throughout Pegu, Birmah, Siam, and Malayia, first one master and then another has practised upon their unhappy subjects; and yet philanthropists and politicians at home maunder about the unjust invasion of native rights, and preach against the extension of our rule, as if our Government, in its most corrupt form, would not be a blessing in such a region, and as if it were not as much, if not more, our duty to extend as a Christian people, than to allow them to remain under native rulers, and then to shoot them for following native habits. In later years it has been my sorrow to observe among another branch of this ill-starred Malayan race—the poor Otaheitans—the evil effects of winning them from warlike habits without giving them British protection, for in that case our zeal in teaching them to turn their swords into pruning-hooks has caused them to fall an easy prey to piratical Frenchmen.

It is possible that Inchi Laa's sad tale of Malay suffering was purposely told us to prepare our minds for the bloody scene enacted upon the morrow, and to justify the horrid retaliation.

CHAPTER XV.

THE MASSACRE OF THE PRISONERS IN QUEDAH FORT — THE ALARMED BARBER—INCHI LAA REPUDIATES THE ACT—THE VULTURES' FEAST—CAPTAIN WARREN VISITS THE SIAMESE CAMP—THE SIAMESE ARMY—RENEWED VIGOUR IN THE OPERATIONS—THE CAPTURE OF THE BATTERY—THE FLIGHT OF THE HAREM — FUGITIVES NO LONGER ABLE TO ESCAPE BY SEA—NARROW ESCAPE OF MY CREW—INCHI LAA SURRENDERS — STRUCK BY A WHIRLWIND — THE LAST BROADSIDE — THE CHIEFS ESCAPE—QUEDAH FORT ABANDONED.

THE Siamese prisoners in the hands of the Malay chieftains had, after the completion of the defences of Quedah fort, been employed digging a reservoir, called in India a tank, for the purpose of collecting rain. Every day these wretches were marched out to their tasks and brought back again; but on the day after the visit of the Inchi, we observed that a more than usual number of Malays accompanied them, and that several chiefs of importance were among the escort.

The spot was too distant for us to see all that took place, but our attention was attracted by piteous cries and loud shouts, and the rush and confusion of an evident *mêlée:* the Malays in the garrison crowded upon the parapet, and appeared very excited in voice and

gesture. Suddenly a Chinaman from the town was seen running towards our anchorage, followed, directly his object was observed, by a couple of Malays; several shots were fired at the fugitive, but when under cover of our vessel, we discharged a musket over his head, to show we claimed him, and his pursuers resigned him to our custody. I never before or since saw a man so horror-stricken as this poor Chinese barber was—for he had all the instruments of his trade about him, and had apparently dropped his razor and fled, stricken by some sudden fear. With much ado the man was soothed into telling us, crying all the while with nervous excitement, that the noise which was just subsiding on shore had been the death-shrieks of all the ill-fated Siamese prisoners; that Tonkoo Mahomet Type-etam had been burning for revenge ever since his late discomfiture at Allegagou, and the Malays generally were frantic at the horrors perpetrated on their countrymen: in retaliation, therefore, they had that morning marched out three hundred Siamese (all they had in their hands) to the margin of the tank, and there drawing his creese, Type-etam had given the signal to fall on, by plunging it into the body of a prisoner; and the bodies were thrown into the tank which lay in the road over which the Siamese troops must advance to the capture of Quedah. The Chinaman happened to be a witness of the massacre, and not knowing whether Type-etam might not take it into his head to clear off the Chinese likewise, he, like a prudent barber, decamped at once.

The murderers marched back soon afterwards, and, lying as we now did close to the stockade, we did not

think from their appearance they looked very elated with their bloody achievement; still one or two ruffians were very excited, and waved their spears and muskets, as if promising us a similar fate should we fall into their hands. I need hardly say we were most indignant at such a cold-blooded act of cruelty, and it would have been an evil hour for Type-etam had he fallen into the hands of our people: even Jadee declared it unmanly, and, as usual, took great care to explain to me, that the gentlemanly dogs by whom he had been brought up would have acted very differently.

I upbraided Inchi Laa the next time he visited us for such an inhuman return to our captain's generous treatment of their defenceless women and children, and reminded him that, as pirates, there was an English law which entitled us to twenty pounds a-head for every one of his countrymen we sent out of the world.* The Inchi, I was glad to see, blushed, and vowed that Mahomet Said protested against the act, while Type-etam tried to justify it on the ground of the dearth of provisions and water, the cruelty of the Siamese, and the bad policy of liberating such a body of enemies.

The keen sight of the vulture, or possibly its power of scent, was wonderfully exemplified on the day of the massacre; for although none of us had ever seen a vulture here before, within a few hours after it had taken place a number of those repulsive creatures were wheeling round and round over the bodies, and soon settled down to their filthy repast, only to rise for a short and lazy flight

* The head-money for pirates has been most wisely done away with very lately, after having been sadly abused.

when startled by some exchange of shots between the besiegers and besieged.

Habit reconciles many a disgusting sight to our ideas of what is natural; but I know nothing that, to a European as yet unhardened to it, seems so repulsive as that of a large bird feeding upon the corpse of a human being. Yet this soon became a common sight, for many a body floated down the stream, and directly it grounded on the mud-flats, vultures would be seen flapping their wings over their loathsome food.

A week passed away: the Malays still spoke confidently of being able to hold out in the fort until the bad weather should force the Siamese to retreat, and ourselves to abandon the blockade; and, moreover, they allowed it to leak out, that Datoo Mahomet Alee, from Parlis, was operating against the flank of the Siamese army, and prevented them making an assault upon Quedah.

On March 16, a Siamese flag was seen waving on a tree at the mouth of the Jurlong river, north of Quedah river; and with a view to hastening the Siamese operations, Captain Warren decided upon visiting their head-quarters, and a message was soon sent to the Siamese general, informing him of his wish to do so.

Next day, elephants and a guard of honour were in waiting at the Jurlong. Captain Warren ascended it as far as possible, and then, accompanied by his gig's crew and an interpreter, mounted the elephants and proceeded to Allegagou, where the general still was, although a division of his army was closely blockading Quedah fort by land. Captain Warren was received

with the greatest honour, and had a house placed at his disposal, as well as necessary food. The general informed him that the diversion attempted by Datoo Mahomet Alee had been a perfect failure; the Datoo experiencing a total defeat, and losing a field-piece and abundance of powder and shot, which were now in the hands of the Siamese, to be used against the Quedah garrison.

The forces seen by Captain Warren, forming the main division of the army, were at least 15,000 strong, and consisted almost entirely of infantry and some elephants. Nearly 10,000 men were armed with good Tower flint-muskets, which the General informed him had all been purchased from the Honourable Company, when they adopted the percussion-lock throughout the Indian army.

On the whole, Captain Warren was favourably impressed with the *matériel* and *personnel* of the native army co-operating with us, though very different from what a European one would have been. With a promise from the General to push on operations with all possible energy, Captain Warren embarked with his gig's crew in one of the native canoes, descended Quedah river, and, much to all our astonishments, passed the town and fort of Quedah without having his right to do so even challenged by the Malays; proving, at any rate, the respect they entertained for the officer who had behaved so generously towards their wives and families.

The day after Captain Warren's return, the Siamese appeared to be about to carry their promise into execution with a hearty will; a heavy and continuous fire was

kept up by the outposts, and the Malays were evidently falling back: the scrub and jungle prevented us seeing much, except the wounded as they were carried to the rear. The Siamese light guns commenced to range over the fort, and were fiercely replied to by the heavy eighteen-pounders on the bastions. News was obtained by Mahomet Said at the same time, from a prisoner, that the Siamese had beaten back Mahomet Alee; and the defence was thus rendered almost hopeless.

The Malays in the fascine battery were suffering very much, and the Siamese, with their field-pieces and musketry, were punishing the defenders terribly. We had to move a little out of range, so as to let these gentry fight out the duel. It soon became evident that the Siamese, sheltered by the jungle, had a great advantage over the Malays, who were in open ground; the three or four guns in the battery soon became silent, but the gingal battery fired away manfully, under a perfect storm of musket-balls—fresh Malays ascending to take the place of those who were lowered down wounded. The Siamese dared not storm the battery, for it was commanded by the fort; but, at last, a lucky shot from our allies struck the "Dove-cot," and, I fancy, dismounted the culverin, for, in a minute or two afterwards, we saw the Malays roll it off the platform, and let it fall into the battery below; and then the whole garrison of the battery retreated into Quedah fort, carrying off their wounded and a couple of light guns.

The Siamese shouted with delight, and rattled their castanets: we cheered them on; and the Malays slashed away grape and canister into the jungle, sweeping down

all that dared to step on the open ground, which formed a glacis round the old fort.

A cessation of firing took place in the afternoon, and that evening the last instalment of women and children, and the last canoes in the river, escaped from Quedah. Amongst these fugitives were some fifteen damsels, the harem of Prince Abdullah; and they showed, by their good looks, that His Royal Highness was not deficient in taste. We declared all veils contrary to "*our national prejudices*," and the ladies, with a little giggling, resigned themselves very good-naturedly to our white men's ideas, and repaid us for a liberal repast of curry and rice, to which they were immediately invited, by the kindest of smiles and the warmest thanks. Poor souls! the villanous Teda Bagoose had, in the name of his Siamese Majesty, protested against rebels being allowed to escape so easily, and had been placed in a commanding position, between Quedah and Penang, to intercept all the canoes and prahus. We, in consequence, had to refuse this last party a guarantee against capture, and recommended them to land, and walk down the coast into Province Wellesley—a journey of some forty or fifty miles. They willingly adopted our suggestion, but besought permission to encamp under shelter of our guns, until sufficient men could be got together to secure them an escort. The younger ladies, I may, without scandal, say, appeared far from unwilling to take advantage of the holiday they were now enjoying from the strict seclusion of the harem; and, in spite of the prudish reprovals of some of the older ladies of the party, became upon such good terms with some of the Malays who volunteered to

protect them, that I fancy it was very doubtful whether Prince Abdullah would ever again recover the whole of the ladies of his household. An impromptu camp was rapidly formed on the southern point of the river, and we furnished them with sufficient food for present consumption.

These last fugitives assured us, that the fort now only contained about two hundred fighting men, under the two chiefs, Mahomet Said and Type-etam, and that they had sworn not to surrender.

All next day the firing was incessant on the land side of the works, and the Siamese were evidently taking advantage of the cover offered by the town, to make their approaches sufficiently close to try an escalade or assault. The excitement of being even spectators of the fight was naturally very great, and, as either party gained or lost an advantage, we cheered and shouted from the gunboat and cutter. Occasionally, a round-shot or two, and then a shower of musket-balls, would oblige us to move out of immediate range; but only one attempt was fairly made to sink us, and this was the act of a desperate cut-throat in Quedah fort, called "Jaffa." He pointed a heavy twenty-four-pounder at my craft, only eight hundred yards distant, and, having loaded it with grape and canister, discharged it at us whilst we were seated at our afternoon meal of rice and fish. How all hands escaped seemed a miracle: the awnings were cut through in several places, the hull struck and grazed a good deal, but not one man was wounded. We cleared away our guns, and keenly watched all pieces pointed in our direction. The attempt was not, however, repeated;

and as from the angle of the fort which fired at us, we saw three or four men lower themselves down, jump into the river, and swim across so as to escape by land to the southward, we were led to anticipate, what we afterwards heard, that Jaffa and his friends, who had fired upon us, had been reproved by the chiefs, and made to fly the fort.

Just as the night was closing in, the Malays fired several smart salvoes of artillery, and with loud cheers sallied out upon the Siamese, who had already commenced to occupy the town. Volumes of fire and smoke soon rolled over the unfortunate habitations, and the fight waxed hot and furious; reinforcements, however, soon arrived to our allies, and the Malays were beaten back with loss. To our astonishment, our old friend Inchi Laa, or "Gentleman Laa," as the sailors nicknamed him, came alongside, in a wretched canoe, and surrendered his sword. It bore marks of having been used to some purpose; but out of respect for the man's misfortunes, we did not ask many questions. He merely said, that they had made a sally from the fort, and been beaten back with loss; he had found himself cut off from the gate, and happily discovered a decayed canoe before the enemy had observed him. He did not wish to return to Quedah. Poor Inchi! he seemed so alive to the kindness shown him; his mild and gentlemanly countenance spoke volumes in its sadness; and as he pressed us by the hand, bowing his head to touch it in token of gratitude, and in the same garb, and with his own sword in hand, swore to escort his countrywomen safely into Province Wellesley, and then surrender to

our authorities if called upon,—there was not a single soul of our party who did not sincerely regret that political expediency should have set us against a race which can produce such men.

That night and next day the firing of the fort and Siamese was constant. The Siamese were evidently puzzled; their six-pounders were not likely to breach the walls, and scaling a fort full of Malays was a disagreeable contingency which they required time to think about.

The north-east wind had now almost ceased to blow during the day-time, and the heat of the calm days was most oppressive; its disagreeables considerably increased by the smoke of fires, and the foul smell arising from the tank full of slaughtered prisoners, and many bodies of Malays and Siamese which had floated down the stream, and become either fixed in the interstices of the stockade, or grounded upon the mud-banks.

In the afternoon, I experienced in the Emerald the first and only "white squall" which it has been my good fortune to fall in with—but "whirlwind" would be the more proper term. It was calm, and sultry to a degree, and we were listlessly lying about the decks, watching the desultory fight, when the town was suddenly enveloped in a storm of dust, straw, sticks, rags, and flags, flying up almost vertically in the air, as if enchanted; and before we could take a single precaution, such as battening down, we were struck by a squall. With one furious gust it threw us over on our beam-ends—for we lay across its path—tore away awnings and awning-stanchions, and whisked them out of the gunboat, carried

away the weather shrouds, blew the sails out of the gaskets, and half swamped us with water. Happily, it went as quickly as it came, and made one rub one's head, and wonder whether the whole affair had really taken place. Having to send men away to fetch the awning back was, however, a pretty good proof of the extraordinary violence of such a whirlwind; and the Malays assured me, that through the jungle such a violent squall will cut a lane, felling trees, as if so many woodmen had been at work. The best term for it, though somewhat more French than English in character, was that used to me some years afterwards by a French naval officer, who, describing the horrors and dangers of a campaign dans les îles de l'Archipel, said, "Ah! mais nous avons eu des vents là! par example! des coups de vent effrayants —des vents du diable, mon ami!"

We sat over our cup of tea discussing whether we should not, after all, take an active part in the fall of Quedah, when the black outline of the fort was illumined by flashes of artillery; they lasted some few minutes, and were followed by a dead silence. That volley was the knell of Quedah; for, in a short time, we heard cries, as of men drowning, near the stockade, and a number of my Malays, as well as some of Mr Barclay's seamen, jumped into the water and swam to the rescue. They happily succeeded in saving six out of the dozen or fourteen men who had tried to swim across the river, but had failed. Those men that we had saved were all natives of Upper India; and a fine six-foot fellow, directly he was able to speak, said, "We are the last of the garrison!"

Their tale was this :—Two nights ago, Tonkoo Mahomet Said, Prince Abdullah, and Type-etam, with a select body of men, marched along the low-water mark of the sea, as far as the mouth of the Jurlong river, unseen by us or the Siamese ; there they were met by Datoo Mahomet Alee and Haggi Loūng, who had marched from Parlis with some elephants to meet them ; and the united chiefs had thus escaped, to renew their resistance in another quarter.

In order that the Siamese might still be detained off Quedah, a petty chieftain, whose name did not transpire, promised, with two hundred chosen men, to hold out for forty-eight hours : this he faithfully performed ; and he directed the desperate sally in which Inchi Laa had been cut off from re-entering the fort.

Shortly afterwards, that chief, afraid to surrender to us after the treacherous attempt of Jaffa to sink the gunboat (an act all had disapproved of), swam across to the south side with the remaining men of his party, leaving fifteen Rajpoots, who were in the fort, to cover his escape by holding out, as they promised, for the space of two hours.

They it was who had fired the last broadsides, and then endeavoured to make good their retreat as the others had done ; but not being as amphibious as the Malays, they had been swept down by the tide upon the stockade, and the majority were drowned, or killed by alligators.

We respected these brave fellows ; and although there was some suspicion of their being deserters from the Company's army, we gave them the benefit of the doubt;

and, having made them swear to escort the women with all speed to Province Wellesley, we put them all under charge of Inchi Laa, and hastened their departure before the Siamese entered Quedah fort and observed their movements.

Barclay and I crawled through the mud, aroused all the fair ladies from their *al fresco* slumbers, told Inchi Laa he must be off—a piece of advice which needed no repetition—and in a few minutes we were left alone, the stars and a young moon shining on the grey walls of the deserted stronghold.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE SIAMESE IN POSSESSION OF THE FORT—DESCRIPTION OF THE FORT—A SIAMESE MILITARY SWELL—THE DIVAN—A NAVAL AMBASSADOR—THE AMBASSADOR DEMANDS BEEF—CURIOSITY OF THE SIAMESE OFFICIALS—THE APPEARANCE OF THE SOLDIERY—MOBILITY OF THE SIAMESE TROOPS—ARMS AND EQUIPMENTS—THE BUFFALO OF MALAYIA—MR AIREY, MASTER OF THE HYACINTH—SIAMESE INGRATITUDE NOT SINGULAR—WE PROCEED TO PARLIS.

At daybreak on March 20th, we observed the Siamese to be in possession of the fort, and shortly afterwards our Captain visited, and congratulated the authorities, who, however, did not appear to understand the immense moral aid we had afforded to his Golden-tufted Majesty of Siam, as well as the fatal hindrance we had been to fresh supplies being thrown into the unfortunate province.

In the course of the day I visited Quedah, accompanied by Jadee, Jamboo, and a guard of honour of four of my own Malays, who my worthy coxswain insisted should be armed to the teeth, lest a fray should arise with any of the Siamese irregulars. The gunboat passed through the stockade, and from her I landed at the river end of a moat, which we found flanked the fort on its landward side. Neglect and ruin were everywhere apparent; the

moat, was half filled with rubbish, and evidently was left dry at low water: across it, opposite the only gateway not built up with stones, a temporary bridge had been thrown by the Siamese; this gateway faced the one long row of mat-built houses which constituted the once important town of Quedah; and as we passed through it, we could not help stopping to admire two magnificent brass guns, of Portuguese manufacture, which pointed down the road. The arms of the House of Braganza were still comparatively fresh upon the metal: but how have they, the descendants of Alfonzo Albuquerque, degenerated!

The fort itself was of a rectangular form, and partook more of the character of a factory such as the Portuguese and Dutch, as well as ourselves, used to construct in the early days of Eastern discovery, than that of a place intended purely as a fortification. On the parapet there were many handsome and heavy guns, mounted on very barbaric carriages; and within the walls, besides an old mosque or temple, and one or two stone-built houses, there was no lack of mat residences of the usual Malay order of architecture.

It was a sad and ruinous scene: the robber and robbed had each been there in their turn; their handiwork lay before me, and standing upon the battlements looking over the rich land and luxuriant forest on the one side, and the fine river with the blue Indian Ocean upon the other, I could not help feeling that man had sadly abused God's bounty.

Yet Quedah had not always been what it then was. When the first European visitor wrote of it, in 1516, he

had occasion to say, that it was "a seaport to which an infinite number of ships resorted, trading in all kinds of merchandise; here come," he adds, "many Moorish* ships from all quarters; here, too, grows much pepper, very good and fine, which is conveyed to Malacca, and thence to China." And the province adjacent is still noted for the immense productiveness of its rice-fields, and the mountains are still rich in gold and tin. I was not left long to cogitate upon what Quedah had been, and what it could now be, if in better hands; for the Siamese soldiery were still ransacking every hole and corner for plunder, and failing in discovering much, some of them, who looked a little excited with "fighting water," or "*bang*," ruffled up their feathers at my no less pugnacious Malays.

I therefore proceeded at once to pay my respects to the Siamese commandant, my interpreter addressing himself to a Siamese officer, or petty chief, who seemed to have charge of a guard at the gate. The worthy was leaning listlessly on some planks, and, when first addressed, gave himself as many airs as the most thoroughbred British subaltern in charge of three rank and file could have done. It made me smile to see how small the stride between the extremes of civilised and savage life: the listless apathy of fashion and the stoicism of the Indian are very, very close akin. Jamboo, however, understood the art of being a dragoman; and I fancy stirred up the subaltern by a glowing description of who and what I was, and, by his gesticulation and apparent solemnity of bearing when addressing me, moved the

* Moor was the term applied to the Mahometan traders.

spirit of the soldier, and he got up, and conducted me to the presence of the Siamese chief.

Passing through a crowd of very uncivil officers, who could only be distinguished from the men by wearing *silk* tartans of a blue and white pattern, I was presented to a tall and intelligent person, the commandant. Jamboo made, in a disagreeably abject manner, a long speech on my behalf; in which the Siamese tongue grated harshly on the ear after the soft and harmonious language of Malayia. The hall of audience was in one of the bastions, and was evidently the proper Divan. The courtier-like superciliousness of all the officers in the chief's retinue was deliciously amusing; and the great man was evidently wroth at something: maybe he was not struck with the importance of a British midshipman in his ambassadorial character; but I enjoyed the joke amazingly; for I had been ordered to give a message, and I determined to give it to no one but the chief, were he the Rajah of Ligor himself. I got it from my chief; I intended it should go to theirs. Jamboo passed several compliments between us, almost going through the form of paying idolatrous worship to a Siamese general and a midshipman of H.M.S. Hyacinth. I then said, in the most serious and formal manner, "Tell the general that I have a message from my rajah!" and, added Jadee, "Remember, oh Jamboo! that these men are swine, and would never have been here but for us; explain that to these sons of burnt mothers!" Requesting Jamboo to do no such thing, and desiring Jadee to hold his tongue, my message was duly delivered.

"He says," said Jamboo, "that he is ready to hear.

But, dear me, sir, this not Siamese fashion; nobody can send a message to a great chief like this without a present; suppose no got present, can do no good!" "Never mind, Jamboo," I replied; "you fire away as I tell you. Tell this old gentleman that my captain wishes him to put the two bullocks he promised for the ship, on board my boat."

Jamboo collapsed; and I saw he was going to remonstrate at having to give such an unimportant message to so big a man; therefore checked this at once, by ordering him to do as he was told.

The message was delivered, and its effect was richly comical on the audience around us: they stared open-mouthed at the impertinence of the whole affair, though I knew perfectly well I had done right; for the devil a bullock should I have got from any one but the chief, and to go off without two of them was not my intention. The chief seemed to divine my motive; for though he stared at first, he soon smiled, and with becoming dignity replied that he did not look after bullocks, but that we should have two.

"Will his Excellency be good enough to order one of these officers to go with me, and point them out?" I asked through Jamboo. And, wonderful to relate! his Excellency did please to do so, and I put the gentleman under Jadee's especial care, and told him not to part from him until he had the two animals safe in his own custody. Jadee went away with him, looking as if any breach of contract would cause the Siamese officer to join the hecatomb in the tank.

I was now retiring, when the small spyglass in my

hand attracted the Siamese chief's attention; and on inquiring if it was a pistol, its proper use was explained to him; and very much delighted his Excellency was with a sight through the little Dollond; and children at a peep-show were never more excited than were his attendants in their desire to be allowed to look through it. I need hardly say that I was not over liberal in that respect to those who had given themselves airs, and I soon beat a retreat. The crowd and the heat made the Divan disagreeable amongst people with whom fresh water had become a scarce commodity.

The excessive self-conceit I observed amongst these officers is a national characteristic of the Siamese people: they style themselves, *par excellence*, "Thai," or freemen; the Franks, in short, of the great peninsula embraced by the Indian Ocean and China Sea—a title they most decidedly do not deserve as a body; for the *stick* is in more common use amongst them than the bamboo is with the Chinese, as an arbitrator between master and man.

Great numbers of their soldiery were in both fort and town, and struck me as being a fine soldierlike body of men, if measured by an Asiatic standard, and minus pipeclay, blackball, and leather stocks—I might also add, regimental clothing. A cloth round their hips, falling to the knee, and another fashioned like a Malay sarang, hanging across the shoulders, formed their sole attire. In appearance, they struck me as a composite race, and betrayed strong signs of a mixed origin. They were taller than the Malays, long-backed, and better developed about the legs and hips, as a race should be who live

more ashore than afloat. The features partook of the Burmese cast of countenance, with the eye just enough Chinese in outline to show that the sons of Ham were numerous on the banks of the deep Menam. In colour, they were a shade or two darker than the Malay and Chinese, exhibiting in that respect an affinity to the races of the peninsula of Indostan, and substantiating their sacred traditions, that their religion was derived, as well as their earliest civilisation, from the banks of the Ganges. The power of endurance of these soldiery I had often heard my Malays extol; and looking at the spare athletic limbs, in which there was more bone than flesh, I could easily understand that they were capable of making long marches; indeed, whilst I stood at the gate, two men, clothed as I have before described, marched in with a spring in their gait which betokened that they had still plenty of work left in them; and on inquiring where they had come from, I was informed that they had marched from a place thirty miles distant. Beside their arms, these men each carried a slip of bamboo on his shoulder, at either extremity of which was suspended all their baggage, cooking-gear, and several days' rice tied up in a bag with a little salt. The celerity with which an army that thus carried its equipage and commissariat upon the men's shoulders, could move from point to point of an extensive empire like Siam, must be very remarkable, and fully supported the Malay acknowledgment of their being excellent soldiers.

All those I saw had firearms of some description or other: the majority had flint-muskets, with the Tower

mark. Round the waist of the soldiery was secured a primitive cartouche-box, containing, in little movable reeds, the charges of powder, and in the same belt a bag was suspended filled with musket-balls and pieces of a felt-like vegetable substance for wads.

The martial appearance of these Siamese was heightened by a very peculiar mode of wearing the hair. Naturally jet black, and somewhat harsh in texture, the hair was cut to an equal length all over the head, leaving it about three and a half inches long, the object being to make each particular hair to stand on end, "like quills upon the fretful porcupine," and to insure this, a fillet, of an inch and a half wide, of rattan, or some stiff substance, carefully covered with white linen, encircled the head, passing across the forehead close to the roots of the hair, and served to force it all into an erect position.

It decidedly gave them a singularly fearless air, but whether a national custom, or merely adopted by the Siamese general to make a marked distinction between his followers and the long-haired Malays, I am unable to say.

I passed Jadee and his crew of twenty men, engaged in getting the two bullocks on board the Emerald, and they had had a pretty tough hour's work in doing so: for the animals, like most of the native cattle in Malayia, were only half-tamed buffaloes—a set of savage long-horned brutes, that will not turn from the tiger so common in those jungles. Indeed, in many of the native states, the favourite sport of the chiefs is to capture a tiger alive, and turn him loose into an enclosed arena with a buffalo-bull, and in nine cases out of ten

the latter will, in spite of the fearful wounds it receives, kill the tiger with a blow or two of its horns, and then toss it about as an English bull would a dog.

We had some difficulty in lashing down our freight of fresh beef, and taking it safely off to the Hyacinth; and the commanding officer, the kind and gallant Airey, laughed immoderately when I told him of my mode of carrying out his injunction, "not to return without the bullocks." "A midshipman's impertinence must," as he observed, "have astonished the Rajah of Ligor!" for he it was, and no one else, that I had thus played the ambassador with!

Airey was the master of the Hyacinth; but owing to the death of the second-lieutenant, and the promotion of the first-lieutenant,* he was now doing commanding officer's duty. He was a charming specimen of a generous, gallant sailor. Poor fellow! he now lies in a humble grave on the pestilential shores of Labuan, having fallen a victim to fever and dysentery, so rife at the commencement of our settlement on that island. Heaven rest his soul! a better, kinder man, or more zealous officer, never adorned our profession, although it never was his luck, in piping days of peace, to have sufficient opportunity for a display of his abilities, and the canker of disappointment and a worn-out constitution laid him under the turf.

Arrangements were now made to proceed northward, so as to promote the rapid reduction of the rest of the

* The late Captain Giffard, who was mortally wounded, and his vessel, H.M.S. Tiger, captured by the Russians off Odessa, in the commencement of the late war.

province, a great portion of which was still in the hands of the Tonkoos and their adherents. The Siamese, as I have said, did not appear to understand the value of our passive form of co-operation, though it was undoubtedly very efficacious; and Jamboo assured me he had, whilst in Quedah fort, heard many insulting inuendoes cast upon the British mode of blockading. "Oh! you have been eating white rice while we have starved upon black," was one of their expressions equivalent to "lying in clover," whilst they worked hard. Others wanted to know, "Why we allowed a set of Malay vermin to escape, that they might return, to harass the Siamese at a future day?" In short, had Captain Warren expected much gratitude for all his hard work and anxious days and nights, he would have been bitterly disappointed; and we may say that our unhandsome treatment by the Siamese was only of a piece with the conduct of some other countries which we could mention in more civilised parts of the world, where policy, or generosity, or Quixotism has caused old England to lavish her treasure and her still more precious blood.

It was with no small satisfaction that we saw the Hyacinth weigh on the 22d of March, and proceed towards Parlis, leaving the Siamese and the Teda Bagoose to fulfil their mission, whatever that might be. By the by, the fighting captain of the Teda Bagoose had vowed to report me officially for giving such a name to his Imperial Majesty's brig, and that added to my desire to see her a long way astern.

CHAPTER XVII.

RETURN TO PARLIS—A CASE OF CHOLERA-MORBUS—AN IRISH CURE FOR CHOLERA—PAT CONROY'S OPINION OF THE CHINESE—TAMELAN—PARLIS—THE FLIGHT FROM TAMELAN—THE LEGACY OF QUEEN DEVI—THE DEPARTURE—THE HEART OF A COCOA-NUT TREE—PROCEED TO SHOOT A BUFFALO—DISCOVER A HERD—THE SHOT AND THE CHASE—OBTAIN PLENTY OF BUFFALO MEAT.

THE cutter and gunboat proceeded along the shore, whilst the Hyacinth made a straight course; and the lack of wind in both cases caused the passage to Parlis to be longer than usual. Unable to continue at the oars and sweeps during the heat of the day, we anchored off Bamboo Point, whilst the Hyacinth, in the distance, flapped lazily along with light airs and cats'-paws which never reached us. Towards sunset we weighed, and had not gone far before a small prahu was detected endeavouring to hide herself in the jungle: we of course made her come alongside; and a wretched sight she was! The crew on board consisted for the most part of Chinese settlers who were flying the province: they came from Trang, and gave us the first intimation that that place was already in Siamese possession; but on the way down, cholera and fever had broken out in the prahu, and many had died.

Whilst with us, one poor creature was seized with Asiatic cholera. It was a sad sight, to see one in a sound healthy state suddenly seized with a mortal malady. After one or two rapidly successive cramps the very appearance of the man seemed to alter; he became livid and looked collapsed. We had no medicine, and beyond rubbing his cramped muscles, could do nothing, until Barclay's stroke oarsman, a fine specimen of "a boy" from Kinsale, called Paddy Conroy, said it was "a pithy to say a hathen dhoi in such a manner," and volunteered to cure him, if the officers would only give him five minutes' run of their spirits. Pat Conroy, we knew, looked on spirits—in a nate state, as he called it—as a sovereign remedy for every trouble flesh is heir to; and it was necessary to keep an eye to his physicking, as in his zeal he might have administered counteractives to himself, whilst doing the good Samaritan to the cholera-stricken Chinaman. We opened our private store of spirits, which was kept in a box containing our stock of cayenne pepper, salt, chilies, pickles, and chutney. "Bedad! sir," said Conroy, as his Milesian nose disappeared in the smiles which wreathed his honest countenance, "here is the rale physic here; the devil a sowl dies of cholera while there is all this whisky to be had,"—and as he said so, he started a wine-glass of it into a tumbler. "And then there's the beauthiful Jamaicy rhum too,—by the mother of Moses! what is better than that too for cramps?" So saying, he added some of it. "Ah, now, sir, if you plaise, the smallest taste of gin; oh! it's wonderful what a power there is in that same, if so be there is plenty of it; not that

Paddy Conroy would exchange Kinsale harbour full of it for a bucketful of the rale crathur—but what can these hathens know about it? Now for a spoonful of chili vinegar and a pinch of cayenne." So suiting the action to the word, he mixed up a diabolical potion, which would have horrified a horse-doctor.

I remonstrated, but Barclay truly enough said, it gave the Chinaman one chance more of surviving, and accordingly a seaman forced the poor creature's mouth open with an iron spoon-handle,—for the teeth were set close together with spasms,—and Dr Conroy poured his cure for cholera down the man's throat.

"You have killed that man!" I said.

"The divil a fear, sir," replied Conroy; "good whisky never killed any man;" a rash assertion of his faith in his national liquor, which seemed somewhat supported by the rapid improvement which took place in the patient, who had perfectly shaken off his malady before we reached Parlis.

Chinaman-like, the wretch seemed incapable of gratitude, and neither he nor his friend said, thank you! to Pat Conroy, who, when I remarked to him that I thought they might have done so, replied that "Nothing good ever came of men who wore tails, the dirty hathens! and it was almost a pithy to have wasted good liquor on such bastes."

Conroy was one of those light-hearted, devil-may-care Irishmen, *one or two* of whom are so invaluable on a man-of-war, just to keep up fun and light-heartedness; more than that is always a source of trouble, for they are seldom good sailors, and often troublesome and

drunken. But wherever a good joke would lighten heavy work, or dispel monotony or care, such a diverting vagabond as Paddy Conroy was invaluable; and though Paddy was bad at steering or seamanship, he could handle a musket with all the innate love of soldiering of an Irishman, and where dash or pluck was required, "Paddy Conroy," to use his own expression, "would be all there, your honour!" His love for being "all there" eventually led him into a powder-magazine in China, where, firing a pistol at a retreating Tartar, he blew up the whole edifice, and himself with it. Paddy escaped with serious injury to his hands and ears, and a general shake of the constitution, from which he has not yet recovered. I am, however, going ahead too fast, and must return to Parlis, where we made all our sister gun-boats extremely happy by the information we had to communicate of the fall of Quedah fort.

Little change had taken place in the state of affairs in the river since my last visit; but the difficulty of maintaining the blockade was not small, in consequence of the extraordinary distance we had to send for fresh water. In proof of this, I was next day despatched to Tamelan, to fill all the water-casks of the flotilla from the water-holes of that village.

The good little Queen Devi was most anxious to assist me, and gave every gallon of water she could spare; but her villagers were themselves somewhat straitened for supplies, there having only been a couple of showers of rain during the last two months; and the parched earth gaped everywhere in wide fissures, and looked as if longing for that rainy season which was not then far distant.

Already had parties of her people been obliged to forage up the stream for fresh water, and been fired at by what they described as "*orang-jahat*," or bad people—evidently a sort of banditti, which, called into existence by the hostilities in the province, waged war alike on either side. The news we brought the good folks of Tamelan of the fall of Quedah and Trang, decided the chieftainess upon taking a step for which it was evident she had some time made preparations. She therefore waited upon me next morning, and informed me that her people intended embarking all their movable property in their prahus, and to proceed to a more secure spot within the jurisdiction of the English Government. I tried hard to persuade her to remain, and that I was sure Captain Warren would explain to the Siamese how neutral her conduct had been, and would secure good terms for herself and followers, provided they submitted willingly to the new order of things.

She assured me, however, that it was hopeless to expect that the Siamese soldiery would obey their chiefs in showing any forbearance to the Malay inhabitants, and that if I refused her leave to depart, or she attempted to prevent her people doing so, they would assuredly disperse into the neighbouring jungle, and escape as they best could from the sea-shore. Under these circumstances I wished them God-speed, and promised her a safe conduct to the ship, whence I knew she would be allowed to proceed to Penang.

All the day was spent in hasty preparation; the more so, that two or three fugitives from the upper part of the Setouè arrived with some horrid tale of atrocities com-

mitted by the invaders. Children and women were staggering under loads of household goods; weeping and squalling going on on all sides; and many of the prahus in which they were embarking were so leaky that the people were already baling. One could only think with a shudder, as visions of blue sharks and alligators floated before the imagination, what it would be when on the high seas. Queen Devi, poor soul! cried bitterly all day, and told me of some old hereditary right she had to the land hereabouts; that some eighteen or twenty years before, the wrath of the Emperor of Siam had fallen with a fifty-fold greater force upon the Quedah Malays, because it was less expected than at present; and that her family had been fugitives from that time until she had returned in the previous autumn, hoping to live quietly in the land of her birth—a hope which, of course, had now proved to be fallacious.

As nearly all her best men had gone with their countrymen into the interior to fight in defence of their rights, there was a sad want of hands to perform the necessary manual labour for the equipment of their prahus. I therefore ordered my crew to lend a hand in getting the sails, oars, and rudders of their vessels into order for their voyage. The gratitude of the poor souls for this piece of assistance knew no bounds; and the chieftainess, in return, told me that she gave me a legacy of all the cocoa-nut trees and mangoes in the village, and informed me that there were a number of half-wild buffaloes in the clearance, which we might shoot and eat if we liked to do so.

In consequence of this information, I determined to

wait and secure such a treat for my poor crew, who had not tasted a morsel of animal food during the four months I had been with them; and for how much longer previously they alone knew. During the night and morning the chieftainess and her followers left, in ten prahus, laden as deep as they would swim, and crammed like slavers with human beings. We gave them a parting cheer, and soon afterwards landed, to see what was to be picked up in the shape of food. Our search was not successful, and even fruit was scarce upon the cocoa-nut trees. My crew, however, soon struck upon a method of obtaining something to eat, in the shape of the heart of a cocoa-nut tree. This luxury could only have been enjoyed under the peculiar circumstances through which the trees had become our property; for they had to be cut down, and then, on splitting open the gorgeous crown of leaves which forms the capital of that useful species of palm, a white vegetable substance was obtained, about three feet long, and as thick as a woman's arm. Eaten raw, it tasted like a delicious nut, and when boiled it formed an excellent vegetable.

The vandalism of destroying a noble tree for the sake of one dish of fruit or vegetable was, however, too great to be carried to any extent. I only allowed three or four to be cut down, and consoled the men by assuring them of beef *ad lib.* in the evening.

Jadee reconnoitred the rice-fields for the bullocks or buffaloes, and reported to me that during the heat of the day they had naturally retreated into the shady depths of the jungle, and would only come out to feed in the

clearings when the sun declined from the zenith. We therefore went on board to burnish up our arms, and get some salt ready for curing our anticipated surplus of beef. I found Jamboo anxious to proceed up the river, to procure from a certain bank à peculiar species of very delicious shellfish, which I never have tasted anywhere but in the Setouè, although it is, I believe, common to the Straits of Malacca. I gave him permission, warning him to retreat immediately should war parties of Siamese or the orang-jahat fire upon him—an injunction which I believe I might have well spared myself the trouble of giving to the unwarlike descendant of the British Mars. About three o'clock Jadee and I started for our foray against the buffaloes, with a single barrel each, and two active men as beaters. As we went along, Jadee explained to me that the animals were perfectly wild, and all that the Malays knew of them in Tamelan was, that their young rice-fields had been sadly ravaged by them, and that we should have to be, in the first place, very 'cute to get within shot of them; and in the next, it would require some generalship, if we hit them in the open ground, to escape their wrath; for, as he sagely observed, "They don't care about tigers or snakes; and a very wise man whom I once knew, who understood all the buffaloes say to one another, told me that they don't care for a man either."

"All right!" I said to Jadee; "but don't you know of any charm for getting near them, or, if we get near them, for being sure of killing them?"—Nothing, I knew, pleased Jadee so much as appealing to his powers of necromancy.

"Well, Tuhan," he replied, "I do know an infallible charm for bringing down man or animal; and that is, putting a small piece of pork-flesh (here he spat, and cursed the unclean animal) down a gun-barrel. I intend to practise it on Mahomet Alee; but, Inshallah! we will get these buffaloes without."

"God is great!" I reverentially replied; "and it is lucky we are able to do without the flesh of swine on this occasion; but if it is a charm, may it be plentiful, O Jadee! when you meet the pirate Mahomet Alee!"

Thus chatting, we strolled rapidly along, skirting the western edge of the jungle, so that the strong shadow might in some measure serve to conceal us, and keeping to leeward of every animal in the cleared ground, the wind being from the eastward. At last the quick eyes of the Malays detected four or five animals feeding in a hollow: and we commenced to stalk them up as if they had been red deer. Aided by the wind and shadow, we at last reached a small knoll unobserved; and there, through a mass of brushwood, had a good view of the brutes, and were well within range of them. Jadee peered over, and whispered that we were in a bad place, but no better could be had. There was a fine tree lying on its broadside not far off; its branches would have given a cover against any charge, for it formed a natural "abattis;" but it was impossible to get there without being seen by the cattle, who would either charge us, or bolt immediately. I therefore arranged that our two beaters should at once fall back again into the jungle, out of which we had advanced some four hundred yards. When they were safe, Jadee and I were to single out a

bull, and fire, then run for the fallen tree, to obtain shelter before the rest of the herd were upon us. We accordingly carried this into execution, levelling our muskets at a great black bull buffalo, who was on the lookout whilst the rest fed. Something alarmed the brute: he evidently caught sight of the beaters retiring to the jungle, and, as if by magic, seemed to communicate an alarm to the herd, which contained not more than four or five cows with calves and another bull. Seeing by his vicious look that he was going to charge my men, I sang out, "Fire!" Both our barrels went off together, and down dropped the lookout-bull. I was so enchanted that I looked only at him. "Lari-lacasse!" screamed Jadee, suiting the action to the word, by starting on his legs and running as fast as he could for the fallen tree. It required no repetition of the admonition for me to follow suit, and the more so as one glance showed me the other bull was in chase. The fifty yards I had to go over were done like lightning, and I leapt the stem and dashed after Jadee amongst the branches as the brute crashed against them. After trotting briskly round to see if there was an opening, it pawed the earth fiercely; and taking another volley from us, of which one ball alone wounded it, the bull beat a retreat, at which I was not sorry; for a more spiteful-looking beast than an enraged buffalo, I do not suppose the whole range of the animal kingdom can produce.

It has none of that beauty of form which strikes one in looking at a European bull. Its black smooth skin is thinly covered with hair, not unlike that of an English pig; its frame is long, bony, and rather angular;

the feet or hoofs clumsy and massive; the head long, with an appearance of cunning ferocity about the eye, very unlike the fearless look of our British bull. The horns are long and sharp, thick as a man's arm close to the head, and forming so open a curve that they can be laid almost close back in the hollow of the shoulder; and their efficiency I was very ready to believe in, without further proof than Jadee's assurance. We now left our fortress and joined the beaters, who told us that the wounded bull had retreated into the jungle, but was bleeding too profusely to go far; we followed up his trail, and soon found him in the centre of a thicket. After some trouble we dislodged him and administered the *coup de grâce*, much to our delight, for neither Jadee nor I were sportsmen in the proper acceptance of the word; and as we cheered over our trophy, I own to the soft impeachment of allowing my mind to recur to beefsteaks and marrow-bones, to which my rice-famished palate had been long a stranger. Ripping open the bull, we cut off as much meat as we could shoulder, and proceeded to the Emerald, to send all hands up for the rest of the carcass.

CHAPTER XVIII.

JAMBOO FRIGHTENED BY A RIVER SPIRIT—THE ABORIGINES OF MALAYIA—MALAYAN SUPERSTITIONS—AN "UNTOO," OR SPIRIT, SEEN—MY CREDULITY TAXED—THE SPIRITS OF THE JUNGLE—ON SUPERSTITIONS IN GENERAL—THE CHARMS OF SUPERSTITION—MUSQUITOES AND SAND-FLIES—THE VILLAGE ON FIRE—FLAMING COCOA-NUT TREES—INTENTIONAL DESTRUCTION—TRACES OF MAN RAPIDLY OBLITERATED IN THE EAST.

THE men soon brought off all the meat from the dead buffalo, and as there was much more than we could eat at once, the surplus was cut into thin shreds, and hung up about the vessel, so that on the morrow the action of the sun should convert it into what, in South America, is styled "charqui," or dried beef.

Towards sunset, the sampan returned down the river with only half a load of shellfish, Jamboo and his crew having been frightened off the fishing-ground by what Sutoo, the quartermaster, assured me was an Untoo, or evil spirit. He explained to me, that while busy up to their knees in water, an odd noise had been heard under the overhanging trees on the opposite bank: looking in that direction, they saw a man's head come up out of the water; the face was covered with hair, and it eyed them in a fierce, threatening manner; they shouted, jumped

into the sampan, and fired at the creature; it dived for a minute, and then appeared again, grinning horribly. Jamboo and his men decided that it was a demon, and thought it better to decamp whilst their skins were whole. I laughed heartily at their fears, and tried to explain to them that it might be a seal. Jamboo, however, stoutly insisted that no seals were ever seen in Malayia; and as I found myself in the minority, I quietly acquiesced in the supposition that it was an unclean spirit. Jadee said, if not the Old Gentleman, that it must be one of the wild men who could imitate the appearance of monkeys or apes, the cry of birds, or the howlings of wild beasts, so as even to deceive animals.

These wild men are the sad remnants of an aboriginal race of diminutive negroes, who, at one time, were more numerous, but are now only found in small isolated parties, in the most inaccessible fastnesses of Malayia, living amongst the branches of trees, to avoid the snakes and beasts of prey. They are human beings in their most degraded form—without religion, without any acknowledged form of government, and only gifted with animal instincts and passions. When found or caught by the Malays, they are tied up or caged just as we should treat chimpanzees.

I argued that it was very unlikely such creatures should be down so close to the sea, and, least of all, would they voluntarily show themselves to our men. Jadee, however, suggested that the movements of large bodies of armed men had disturbed them in their haunts; besides, that at one season of the year they were known to wander towards the sea-shore, either for

the sake of procuring salt, or because shellfish were easily obtainable. Under these circumstances, I was not sorry Jamboo had returned; for these wild men use the sumpit, or blow-pipe, with fearful skill, and blow small poisoned arrows, a few inches long, with sufficient force to destroy even birds upon the wing.

Sailors of every part of the world have a strong spice of the romantic and superstitious in their composition, and the Malays are decidedly no exception to the rule. Indeed, the wild and enterprising life the majority of them lead, and the many curious phenomena peculiar to the seas and islands of their beautiful archipelago, could never be accounted for by an uneducated but observant and highly imaginative race, by any other than supernatural agency. Often, during the evenings of the blockade, had Jamboo recounted to me strange tales of Malayian history: in all of them fiction and myth were deliciously blended with truth, and facts could be easily appealed to in corroboration of all he recounted. The natural and supernatural, the miracles of the Romish Church, Hindoo mythology, and Mahometan fables, were rolled one into the other, making tales of thrilling interest, which I cared not to unravel even had I been able to do so.

There were proofs by the thousand amongst these poor fellows of that connection with the world of spirits which it seems to be the desire of man in every stage of civilisation to assure himself of; and I must say, I half began to believe in their assertions upon that head; their faith was so earnest and childlike, that it worked strongly upon even my own tutored convictions to the

contrary. Children never clustered round a winter fire at home with more intense credulity and anxious sympathy, than did my poor Malays to listen to some woeful legend, derived from the blood-stained annals of the Portuguese or Dutch rule in Malayia and its islands As an instance of their childlike belief in spirits, and of the strange way in which such an idea is supported by optical delusions common to these latitudes, I may here recount an event which no more than amused me at the time, although the strange way in which Jamboo and his men swore to having this day seen an "Untoo" brought it back forcibly to my mind.

Just after the blockade commenced, in December of the previous year, my gunboat was lying one night close to the southern point of Quedah river. The mist fell for a while like small rain upon us, but afterwards, at about ten o'clock, changed into fine weather, with heavy murky clouds overhead, through the intervals of which we had momentary gleams of light from a young moon. The air was cold and damp, and I naturally sought shelter under my tent-shaped mat, although until midnight I considered myself responsible for a vigilant lookout being kept. About eleven o'clock my attention was called to the lookout-man, who, seated upon the bow-gun, was spitting violently, and uttering some expressions as if in reproof or defiance, and continued to do so very frequently. Ignorant at that time of the character of my crew, such a peculiar proceeding made me restless. Presently I saw another man go up to him; he pointed in the direction of the jungle, and both repeated the conduct which had attracted my at-

tention: the second man then walked below, as if glad to get off deck. Fairly puzzled, I walked forward. The lookout-man had got his back turned to the jungle, but was every now and then casting glances over his shoulder in a very furtive manner, and muttering sentences in which Allah was invoked very earnestly. He seemed glad to see me, and jumped up to salute me.

"Anything new?" I asked. "Prahus?"

"Teda, Touhan; No, sir!" was the answer; and then seeing me looking towards the jungle, he made signs with his head that it was better to look elsewhere.

I immediately called Jamboo, the interpreter, and desired him to ask what the Malay saw in the jungle.

Jamboo, as usual, sat down, black-fellow fashion, on his hams, and, half asleep, drawled out my question, and then coolly said—

"He says he saw a spirit, sir."

"Nonsense!" I replied. "Ask him how? or where? It may be some Malay scouts."

Again Jamboo made an effort, and the oracle informed me, that the man had distinctly seen an Untoo, or spirit, moving about among the trees close to the water's edge: he assured me he had seen it ever since the mist cleared off, and that he had been praying and expectorating, to prevent it approaching the gunboat, as it was a very bad sort of spirit, very dangerous, and robed in a long dress.

I expostulated with Jamboo for repeating such a nonsensical tale, and said, "Explain to the man it is impossible; and that, if anything, it must be an animal, or a man."

Jamboo, however, assured me, very earnestly, that Malays often saw "Untoos;" that some of them were dangerous, some harmless; and that if I looked, the Malay said, I could see it as well as himself.

I accordingly sat down by the man, and looked intently in the same direction. We were about one hundred and fifty yards off the jungle; the water was just up to its edge; among the roots of trees, and for a few yards in, there were small ridges of white shingle and broken shells, which receded into darkness, or shone out in distinct relief as the moonlight struck upon them.

When these patches of white shone out, I pointed immediately, and asked if that was what he saw.

"No, no!" said the Malay; and Jamboo added, "He says he will tell you when he sees it."

Suddenly he touched me, and, pointing earnestly, exclaimed, "Look! look!"

I did so, and an odd tremor, I am not ashamed to say, ran through my frame, as I caught sight of what looked like the figure of a female with drapery thrown around her, as worn by Hindoo women: it moved out from the shade of the forest, and halted at one of the hillocks of white sand, not more than 300 yards distant. I rubbed my eyes; whilst the interpreter called on a Romish saint, and the Malay spat vigorously, as if an unclean animal had crossed his path. Again I looked, and again I saw the same form: it had passed a dark patch, and was slowly crossing another opening in the forest.

Feeling the folly of yielding to the impression of reality which the illusion was certainly creating on my

mind, I walked away, and kept the Malay employed in different ways until midnight: he, however, every now and then spat vehemently, and cursed all evil spirits with true Mahometan fervour.

In the middle watch the Untoo was again seen, but as it did not board us—as Jadee assured me. Untoos of a wicked description had been known to do—I conjectured it was some good fairy, and at any rate we were not again troubled with an Untoo until it appeared to the fishing-party in the Setouè river.

These spectral illusions are not peculiar to the jungles of Malayia; there is no part of the world where they do not exist in some form or other; and I, for my part, am not desirous of robbing them of their mystery: there is a poetry, a romance, about them which invests with awe or interest some wild spot or lonely scene that otherwise would be unheeded.

The phantom-ship which will not furl her royals to the storms of the Cape of Good Hope, and astonishes the tempest-tossed seaman as she glimmers amidst the clouds, sea, and mist of the great Southern Ocean, is too charming a spirit for us to be easily robbed of; nay, where is the sailor who has long sailed in those seas, and not seen her? The spirit of the old pirate is still observed, in stormy nights when the sea-bird cannot even keep the sea, to row his tiny skiff through the combing waves, visiting his hidden treasures in Nantucket Bay. Among the sun-burnt reefs and on the lonely mangrove-covered isles of the West Indies and Gulf of Mexico, the restless bodies of the buccaneers of old are still seen to haunt the scenes of their former

crimes. The broken-spirited Peruvian and the degenerate Spaniard attest that on the lofty table-lands of the Bolivian Andes, east of Lake Titicaca, the phantom forms of her departed kings still march by night, and watch over the vast treasures that they there concealed from the avarice of their conquerors. These are a few of the many examples which might be adduced of a general belief in the supernatural, of a belief in the connection between this gross earth and the world of spirits, whether bad or blessed. I care not to explain them away; for there is far more pleasure than fear in the very possibility that such things may be.

Cold philosophy and the sceptic's science may build up walls of impossibilities, and steel our hearts to the belief that those who have laboured for good or evil upon earth shall return no more to encourage or to warn us in our wayfaring here. Who will believe them, but those that are of them? Rather let us rejoice that, even if it be an infirmity of imaginative minds, we are blest in believing that "the beloved and true-hearted come to visit us once more."

"Mortal," they softly say,
"Peace to thy heart!
We, too, yes, Mortal,
Have been as thou art;
Hope-lifted, doubt-depressed,
Seeing in part;
Tried, troubled, tempted,
Sustained, as thou art."

. . . . . .

The closing shades of night brought off from the adjacent jungle such clouds of musquitoes and sand-flies,

that we, at any rate, were soon recalled from dreams of spirits and Untoos to the vile realities of mother earth. The crew lighted pans of cocoa-nut husks, and set them along the windward side of the vessel, so that we were enveloped in a pungent smoke which threatened to bring on ophthalmia; but still I was a thin-skinned treat the wretches had not perhaps ever before partaken of; they pierced through my light cotton garments, and I felt morally certain Jadee would only discover the husk of a midshipman by the morning, as all that was succulent was fast being abstracted. I had promised to wait until the morrow, for the purpose of shooting some peacocks which had been seen; but my resolution failed me, and I determined to start at once if the night-breeze, which was fast freshening, did not mend matters. My attention was, however, soon attracted to a more important object. The land-breeze, as usual, came with a smart gust, and almost simultaneously the deserted village burst into flames in two or three places. We went immediately to quarters, and prepared for an attack, fancying, from the sudden way in which the fire commenced, that it was the act of some of the banditti of whom the chieftainess had warned me.

The flames spread with awful rapidity; everything was well calculated to promote ignition—houses, grass, leaves were as dry as three months of a broiling sun could make them: in fifteen minutes, one broad wave of fire had enveloped the whole village; and being to windward of the gunboat, we had to get the night-awnings down, and drop the vessel very expeditiously out of the way. This done, I landed two parties of men, ten in

number each; one party to try and stay the fire, the other, armed, to resist any of the "orang-jahat," if they were about.

Sad as the scene was at first, it became truly terrible when the flames extended themselves to the tops of the cocoa-nut trees!—the felt-like substance between the roots of the leaves, as well as the leaves themselves, catching fire, and communicating from one to the other, until the whole plantation resembled a row of gigantic torches flaming and waving in the air. We were of course unable to make any further attempt to stay the conflagration, and some had narrow escapes of their lives from the fierce rapidity with which the fire leaped from one object to the other, and licked up with its fiery tongue everything as it went.

No natives nor Siamese were to be seen in any direction; and I afterwards pretty correctly ascertained the origin of the fire. Under every one of the houses, which, as usual, were raised some three feet from the earth, the natives of Tamelan had been in the habit of throwing the husks of the rice used daily in their families, forming, on the day they left, very moderate-sized heaps; and when they departed, the embers from their hearths had been thrown on those heaps of husks. So long as it was calm, the ignited husks of rice had merely smouldered, but directly the breeze sprang up, they were fanned into flames, and in a few minutes, as I have described, wrapt the whole village in a sheet of fire.

The people of Tamelan had evidently determined that their conquerors should not dwell in the houses their industry had constructed; and my Malays seconded

them, by not pointing out to me the consequence likely to arise from leaving the smouldering fires in the deserted village. Next day the sun rose on a row of calcined trees and a patch of burnt fragments. Tamelan no longer existed, and the next monsoon, with its rains, would hand over to the dominion of the jungle the very spot on which it stood. The footsteps of man are readily obliterated by the rapid growth of Eastern vegetation: its action is to be compared to nothing but that of the ocean, which bears but the impress of the stamp of the steamship for a minute, and then laughs and rolls on, scorning the pigmy that has crossed its surface. So the green forests of these lands of rank vegetation close in, and wave over race after race of men, who battle with it for a while, and pass away, leaving no more traces of their existence in the perishable records of this earth, than does the keel of the ship over the surface of the waters.

In the forests of Malayia the traveller already finds remains of temples and inscriptions, hidden in creepers, vines, and jungle-grass; they have not even a tradition attached to them, and the best-read Eastern historian cannot decide whether the once great kingdom of Pegu extended its boundaries thus far, or whether these ruins are those of some ancient Malay nation, which held a sway in this peninsula before a pressure from the north forced them to push throughout the archipelago, nay, even Polynesia, for a resting-place, extinguishing, in their character of conquerors, the negro race which undoubtedly was the aboriginal one of those islands.

CHAPTER XIX.

A CREW OF WRETCHED FUGITIVES — "ORANG-LAUT," OR SEA GYPSIES — LOW CIVILISATION OF THE ORANG-LAUT — TOTAL ABSENCE OF ALL RELIGIOUS FEELING—THEIR MODE OF LIVING —THE PERSONAL APPEARANCE OF ORANG-LAUT—DEARTH OF FRESH WATER—ORDERED TO PROCURE WATER UP THE RIVER —PARLIS AND PIRATE FLEET—INTERVIEW WITH HAGGI LOUNG —PERMISSION GRANTED TO PROCURE WATER—TOM WEST'S ADDRESS TO THE MALAYS—PADDLE UP THE RIVER—TROPICAL MALAYAN SCENERY—PASS KANAH—OBTAIN FRESH WATER.

LET us return, however, to Tamelan. I filled my water-casks with all the water that was procurable, and started out of the river. When crossing Setouè Bay, a prahu was seen coasting along the edge of the jungle, and after a short chase we caught her. The people in her were devoid of the usual Malay clothing, and in a most abject condition; they described themselves as Orang-Patani, or people of Patani (a Malayu-Siamese province on the opposite coast), and said they were flying before the Siamese army.

My Malays owned they were countrymen, but spoke of them as barbarians of the lowest caste, pariahs of Malayia, and summed them up by the title of Bad People, or Gypsies, who make war by petty theft alike upon Malays or Siamese.

The specimens before us were decidedly very objectionable in every way: they were dirty to a degree, with a most villanous expression of countenance. After their first fear wore off, the women exhibited a most shameless want of modesty, and the men evinced a total absence of all jealous feeling for their wives or regard for their children; and yet, when one poor wretch offered me his two children for a half-bushel measure of rice, I could not help thinking their vices were the result of their sad, sad load of want and misery; and, giving them rice without taking their unfortunate offspring, we sent them on their way rejoicing.

These fugitives I believe to be identical with the Orang-laut, or Men of the Sea, spoken of by the earliest as well as modern writers when describing the different Malay races. Their proper home is in prahus, or canoes, although some of them occasionally settle upon the borders of the sea. Like the sons of Ishmael, their hand is against every man, and every man's hand against them. The Malay of more civilised communities holds them in contempt; and he is the only man who can be expected to have any sympathies with them. They are found haunting in small groups—for their numbers do not entitle them to the appellation of tribes—the neighbourhood of our flourishing colonies, as well as the most secluded and barren places in Malayia. They are usually found east of the Straits of Malacca, although, as I have just shown, they reach the western side sometimes. Under fifty different names, they are known to the inhabitants of Siam, Java, Sumatra, Borneo, and the Moluccas, and in all cases bear a bad reputation.

The best description of them is given by a Mr Thomson, a gentleman who has written on the Archipelago. I take the liberty of transcribing it entire, and can testify to the truth of the account, in so far as they came under my own observation:—

"This tribe takes its name, Salatar, from a creek in the island of Singapore, on the narrow strait which divides it from the mainland, not above eight miles distant from that flourishing and civilised British emporium. Its numbers are about 200, living in forty boats or canoes; and their range in quest of subsistence does not exceed thirty square miles. Their language is the Malayan, and considerable pains were taken to elicit any words foreign to that language, but without success. As a proof of their possessing the same language as the Malays, I may mention that the children were heard, when playing, to converse in this language, and were perfectly understood by the Malays amongst our crew.

"They are possessed of no weapons, either offensive or defensive. Their minds do not find a higher range than necessity compels: the satisfying of hunger is their only pursuit. Of water they have abundance without search. With the sârkab, or fish-spear, and the parang or chopper, as their only implements, they eke out a miserable subsistence from the stores of the rivers and forests. They neither dig nor plant, and yet live nearly independent of their fellow-men; for to them the staple of life in the East, rice, is a luxury. Tobacco they procure by the barter of fish, and a few marketables collected from the forests and coral reefs. Of esculent roots they have the prioh and kalana, both bulbous, and not unlike

coarse yams. Of fruits, they eat the tampii, kledang, and buroh, when they come in season; and of animals, they hunt the wild hog, but refrain from snakes, iguanas, and monkeys.

"On their manners and customs I must need be short, as only long acquaintance with their prejudices and domestic feelings could afford a clue to the impulse of their actions. Of a Creator they have not the slightest comprehension, a fact so difficult to believe, when we find that the most degraded of the human race, in other quarters of the globe, have an intuitive idea of this unerring and primary truth imprinted on their minds, that I took the greatest care to find a slight image of the Deity within the chaos of their thoughts, however degraded such might be, but was disappointed. They knew neither the God nor the devil of the Christians or Mahometans, although they confessed they had been told of such; nor any of the demigods of Hindoo mythology, many of whom were recounted to them.

"In the three great epochs of their individual life, we consequently found no rites nor ceremonies enacted. At birth the child is only welcomed to the world by the mother's joy; at marriage, a mouthful of tobacco and one chupah (gallon) handed to one another confirm the hymeneal tie: at death, the deceased are wrapped in their garments, and committed to the parent earth. 'The women weep a little, and then leave the spot,' were the words of our simple narrator. Of pâris, dewas, mâmbangs, and other light spirits that haunt each mountain, rock, and tree, in the Malayan imagination, they did not know the names, nor had they anything more to

be afraid of, as they themselves said, than 'the pirates of Galang, who are men like themselves.' With this I was forced to be contented, and teased them no more on the subject.

"They do not practise circumcision, nor any other Mahometan rite. Their women intermarry with the Malays not unfrequently: they also give their women to the Chinese; and an old woman told us of her having been united to individuals of both nations at an early period of her life. Their tribe, though confining its range within the limits of thirty square miles, may still be considered of a very wandering kind. In their sampans (canoes), barely sufficient to float their loads, they skirt the mangroves, collecting their food from the shores and forests as they proceed, exhausting one spot and then searching for another. To one accustomed to the comforts and artificial wants of civilised life, theirs, as a contrast, appears to be extreme. Huddled up in a small boat hardly measuring twenty feet in length, they find all the domestic comforts they are in want of. At one end is seen the fireplace, in the middle are the few utensils they may be in possession of, and at the other end, beneath a mat not exceeding six feet in length, is found the sleeping apartment of a family, often counting five or six, together with a cat and a dog. Under this they find shelter from the dews and rains of the night and heat of the day. Even the Malays, in pointing out these stinted quarters, cried out, 'How miserable!' But of this the objects of their commiseration were not aware. In these canoes they have enough for all their wants.

"Their children sport on the shore in search of shell-

fish at low water, and during high water they may be seen climbing the mangrove branches, and dashing from thence into the water with all the life and energy of children of a colder clime, at once affording us proof that even they have their joys.

"The personal appearance of these people is unprepossessing, and their deportment lazy and slovenly, united to much filthiness of person. The middle portion of the body of men and women is generally covered by a coarse wrapper made from the bark of the trap tree (a species of Atrocarpus), which extends from the navel to the knee. The women affected a slight degree of modesty at first approach, which soon gave way. The locks of the men are bound up with a tie of cloth, and sometimes by the Malay sapu-tangan (kerchief); those of the women fall in wild luxuriance over their face and shoulders. Their children go entirely naked until the age of puberty."

That I should return empty-handed to Parlis, in so far as a large supply of water was concerned, gave great cause of uneasiness to the officer in charge of the blockading flotilla; for it was self-evident that without water it would be utterly impossible for us to maintain a rigid blockade, and just now it became highly important to the safety and success of our allies that we should do so. Mr Drake,* the senior mate, sent me off immediately to tell Captain Warren, who was then in the Hyacinth, watching the channel which exists between the Lancavas islands and Parlis, and to beg a little water from him. The ship was, however, running short, and Captain

* The present Commander Thomas G. Drake, R.N.

Warren was determined not to be foiled, by having to quit his post at such an important moment for water. He therefore desired me to tell Mr Drake that we must not come again to the ship for water; that it must be foraged for, and must be *taken*, if it could not be obtained in any other manner.

One of the other gunboats was despatched to seek water elsewhere, and I was ordered to start next morning in a large sampan, with a couple of empty casks, to procure fresh water above the reach of the tide in Parlis river. My perfect confidence in the Malays, in spite of Mahomet Alee's threats, enabled me to look forward to my cruise into the very heart of their territory without any feeling but that of great curiosity, and a pardonable degree of pride at being the first to see all the war-prahus.

Early in the forenoon I started in a good sampan, with one English sailor, an interpreter, and six picked Malays, all well armed; but their muskets and pistols were placed where they would be ready for use without attracting attention. The flood-tide ran strong, and we swept with it rapidly up the stream. The first mile or two was very monotonous, the banks being for the most part of mangrove, and another tree which seems to delight in an equally amphibious life. At a curve in the river we came suddenly on a stockade, and, being hailed immediately by some men on guard, I felt to what a thorough test we were going to put Malay chivalry.

The stockade across the stream was well and neatly constructed, having a couple of tidal booms fitted in such a way that the guard could at any moment, during either

flood or ebb tide, stop up the only passage; and on either hand, some hundred yards back from the river, rose conical-shaped hills, on whose summits formidable batteries, constructed of heavy timber, commanded the stream in every direction.

The pangleman or officer at the guard-house smiled when I told him I was going up the river for water, and said he had no objection to my proceeding to Parlis to ask for permission; but as to obtaining it, he laughed, and said all would depend upon the humour I should find Datoo Mahomet Alee in. Another three miles of fine open forest replete with Oriental interest now occurred, and the country improved in appearance after we had passed a spur of picturesque hills, through which the river had forced its way. Our approach to Parlis town was proclaimed by a line of war-prahus moored to either bank. The rapidity of the current, as well as my anxiety to reach the fresh-water point of the river, gave us but a flying glance at this much-talked-of and long-wished-for pirate fleet; and besides which, I felt it desirable not to appear as if on a reconnoitring expedition.

They were handsome-looking craft, not very numerous, but with fine long guns mounted in their bows; they had but few men in each of them, though otherwise ready for sea.

Of Parlis we could not see much beyond that it was situated upon a plain on the south side of the river, and appeared capable of containing four or five thousand inhabitants. We pulled in for a light wharf constructed of bamboos, whereon an armed Malay had hailed to

know what we wanted: and he, in reply to my answer that we wished to see the Datoo, said that was his house. I landed with two or three men, and, surrounded by a crowd of armed Malays, who hastened from all sides, was escorted to Haggi Loūng.

That worthy received me, and said that Datoo Mahomet Alee was absent with his men fighting the Siamese: but what might be my errand?

I told him I was sent by my senior officer for water.

The Haggi laughed heartily for so holy a man, and having, much to my disgust, recalled to my unwilling recollection the visit he made me on a former occasion, asked how Mr Barclay and Mr Stewart were?

Bother the fellow's memory! I thought; he will next remember Jadee, and then, maybe, his abusive opinion of Mahomet Alee's mother. The Haggi was inclined to be satirical, and asked if it was the custom of "white men" to cut off salt and powder from their enemies, and then to go to them for water?

I said I did not know; but that I supposed my senior officer had been given to believe no difficulty would be made, or otherwise I should not assuredly have been sent. And then I pointed to the tide, and asked him not to detain me, for I wanted to return with my load of water upon the ebb.

The Haggi with good-humour told me to go: he would not stop me, but warned me to be careful, as all the country was in arms, and neither he nor Datoo Mahomet Alee could be responsible for our safety.

That was all I wanted: so I bowed, and started back to the boat. Numbers of armed Malays—some of them,

from their beautiful creeses and spears, doubtless men of importance—thronged the Haggi's anteroom and the pier; a few of them scowled in an unfriendly manner, and some of the younger game-cocks ruffled up, as if anxious to throw a feather with my men. I kept an eye upon them, however, and got all safe down without any farther interchange of civilities than a short address which my English body-guard made them off the end of the pier.

Turning round upon the crowd, and eyeing them with a look which made those nearest to him back a little, as if wishing to increase the intervening distance, he said—"Hah! you're mighty sarcy, you yellow-faced beggars; but just you come down, Jack, with your prahus to the mouth of this here river of your'n" (here my body-guard performed a pantomine, pointing at their vessels), "and then, as sure as my name's Tom West, if we do not give you plenty to eat" (here he added the Malay for eating), "darn me, say I'm a Dutchman."

"Get in the boat, sir, immediately!" I shouted.

"Hi, hi!" said Tom West, as he jumped into the boat; "but I likes to give a set of sarcy beggars a bit of my mind, sir.—Lor' bless you!" continued he, smiling derisively at the young Malays who were crowing on the pier; "Lor' bless you! you are nice young men indeed. Please God and Lord Mount Edgecumbe, one of these days I'll have some of you by the *scruff* of the neck; and if I don't give you a hug, say I never hailed from the west country!"

Tom West, like all sailors, evidently took it for granted they must understand English, or, if they did

not, that they ought to do so; and when I explained to him that it was folly speaking to people who could not comprehend a word he said, he replied, "Ah! sir, they are like their country monkeys; they never understands you until you thrashes them; give me a dozen shipmates with our pinnace's stretchers* in Parlis, and I'm blest if we would not soon make them understand English, and talk it too!"

Unprepared to dispute this theory, I allowed the subject to drop, and we soon swept out of sight of Parlis, the Malays in my crew striking up their usual paddle-song, each in turn repeating a short verse in a high key, sentimental or witty, and the whole breaking into a chorus which ran somewhat thus—

"Ah! ya-nō—nasī, nā no
Ah! yā nō!"

and sounded very prettily, while the movements of their bodies and stroke of their paddles kept time to the tune.

The scenery improved rapidly. We appeared to be approaching a range of hills which would bar our farther ascent, and I expected every moment to come to a fall or a rapid; instead of which we swept through another gapway in the hills, similar to the one where the stockade had been erected, and then we entered into the broad valley of Quedah; for in the far distance the lofty and picturesque peaks of the Malayan Ghauts stretched in a north and south direction, with nothing intervening. The forest was open, and although the long drought had

* A boat's stretcher is a piece of wood which goes across the bottom of a boat, to enable the rowers to throw a greater weight on their oars. It is a favourite weapon of offence with English boats' crew.

told somewhat on the leaves of the trees as well as the grass and underwood, the varied and mellowed tint of withered vegetation softened and added to the beautiful variety of the scene.

Birds were in places very numerous, and a species of pheasant ran along the banks of the river as if it was never fired at. Schools of monkeys and numerous alligators, with the glimpse of a couple of deer, showed what abundance of sport there was to be had. I had, however, too anxious a duty to perform to wait for shooting bird or beast, except in one instance, when I observed a large female alligator, with two young ones not two feet long lying by her, close to the bank. Desirous of shooting the dam, so as to capture the *babies* alive, I fired, and struck her, as I fancied, mortally, for she sprang half round, and there lay champing her teeth together in a savage manner, as if in agony. There were several other alligators about, and I proposed to the men in my boat to get out and chase them away, as I had often seen them do at the mouth of the river. But they would not hear of it, and assured me it was a very different thing to attack alligators that were accustomed to men, as these brutes were; besides which, fresh water always made them more savage and dangerous. Unwilling to be detained, I pushed on as hurriedly as possible; and when we had gone, by my calculation, a distance of sixteen miles from the entrance of the river, another town, called Kangah, hove in sight.

Desirous of making the most of the favourable tide, I determined, at all risks, to visit Kangah on my way down; and except that a few children ran out and gazed

upon us, our appearance attracted little curiosity. A mile or so above the town we arrived opposite some powder-mills, where a Malay sentry hailed us, and having told him we had Haggi Loūng's permission to go for water, he did not detain us.

This fellow's confidence in his chief amused me. I asked him if Datoo Mahomet Alee was at Kangah.

"No," he replied, "he is on his march to Quedah!"

"How about the Siamese?" my interpreter asked.

"Pish!" said the sentinel; "the Siamese! they will all be destroyed!"

We did not wait for further information, and, shortly afterwards, finding the water perfectly fresh, we being then about eighteen miles from the sea, we laid on our paddles and filled our casks, bathed, washed, and drank water, with all the *abandon* of men who had long been strangers to the luxury of fresh water in large quantities.

CHAPTER XX.

THE LADIES OF KANGAH BATHING—HALT TO LUNCH AT KANGAH—KANGAH, ITS SITUATION—MODE OF CONSTRUCTING MALAY HOUSES—THE MOSQUE—THE BAZAAR AND ITS OCCUPANTS—ARRIVAL OF ARMED MEN—RETURN TO THE BOAT—PRAISEWORTHY FIDELITY OF THE MALAYS—MALAY INDEPENDENCE OF CHARACTER—THE PLEASURES OF MEMORY—A MALAY FAMILY-SCENE—RETURN TO PARLIS—PULO QUETAM—TRADE DURING BLOCKADE.

Our casks filled, we turned our head down the stream and dropped down to Kangah, where I purposed having our noonday meal, and waiting for the tide to have ebbed sufficiently to insure us a rapid passage down to the gunboats. At a point just above the town, where some lofty trees threw a pleasant shade half across the stream, all the female population of Kangah, as well as the children, were enjoying a bath. We passed through the scene of their enjoyment; and, to say the least of it, it was amazingly novel, and carried one back to the days of Captain Cook in a very abrupt manner. The married women had on dark-blue cotton dresses, but the rest were in that cool attire in which artists usually represent our first parents to have indulged in Paradise. Gallantry compels me to allow that conscious innocence formed a very charming mantle to the young ladies. A

contrary and depraved state was fully exemplified in Tom West, who actually blushed through his bronzed cheeks, and expressed his opinion with "Dang ye! you're a rum lot. I wonder what my old mother would say, if she could only see ye. I wish Parson Hawker* was here!" My Malays, however, paddled through these water-nymphs without uttering a word or making a gesture which could be construed into anything like disrespect. Whether this propriety arose from a proper and generous feeling at intruding upon the privacy of the women, or from a knowledge that any insult, real or imaginary, would be quickly resented by the ready creeses of the kinsmen of these ladies, I know not; but whatever the motive, it was equally a source of gratification to myself; and the comparison I drew in my own mind as to what would have been the conduct, under similar circumstances, of six of our own English seamen, was not in favour of the latter. Choosing a convenient part of the river bank opposite Kangah, we made our sampan fast, and proceeded to cook rice for lunch. A moderate crowd collected to look at the white men, who were Tom West and myself; but they were civil, and behaved very differently from those of Parîs.

Some person in the town sent me down a basket of delicious mangoes, and others lent us some mats to shield ourselves from the rays of the sun, which poured down with equatorial fierceness upon our exposed boat. All

* Parson Hawker is an imaginary clergyman, who, the west-country sailors assert, used to marry them per force to the Devonport lasses, and exact his fee in savings out of their naval rations—such as flour, pork, &c.

the inhabitants were most anxious to know how they would be treated by our blockading force, if obliged to fly before the Siamese; and it was very evident, the description my Malays gave them of our kindness to those who fled from Quedah and Tamelan made a favourable impression.

Kangah stands on the north bank of the Parlis river, and, like other towns in this country, has only just enough clear ground round it to afford room for the growth of such rice, fruit, and vegetables as were required for the consumption of the inhabitants—the unreclaimed jungle sweeping round the cultivated land and orchards in a great curve, whose radius might possibly be a mile and a half.

The houses were for the most part detached, standing in little gardens, or amongst pretty clusters of cocoa-nut and Penang (or betel-nut) palms, as well as many other trees peculiar to this country: not the least pleasing of these was the graceful banana, which overshadowed almost every abode, and its deliciously cold-looking dark-green leaf was very grateful to the sight.

It is almost impossible to convey a good idea of the beauty and neatness of abodes entirely constructed of wood, bamboo, and matting or leaves. Those of Kangah, although far above the river, were, according to the constant rule, built upon piles three to four feet high; possibly this might be a necessary measure for the rainy season, but at that time, when the earth was baked as hard as rock, it seemed an act of supererogation. They, however, were generally oblong in the ground-plan, having a gallery extending along each of the long sides, to

which a primitive ladder gave access from the ground. The floor (for each house was only one storey high) consisted of strips of bamboo, sufficiently strong to bear the weight, but giving a pleasant spring to the tread; over these bamboos, which were perhaps an inch apart, and kept so by a transverse "snaking" of strips of ratan, neat mats were spread, their number, fineness, and beauty depending upon the wealth of the owner and the skill of his women. The walls were constructed of cocoa-nut and other palm leaves, secured with such cunning and neatness as to be perfectly wind and water tight, and at the same time pleasing to the eye. The roofs were somewhat high and peaked, betokening heavy rains, and with broad overhanging eaves, which added to the picturesque appearance of the buildings, and reminded me strongly of the *châlets* in Switzerland. In some cases the houses were divided into two or more apartments, and the balcony then served as a means of communication between one room and the other, besides being at all times the favourite lounge of the inhabitants. In the centre of the town a mosque-like building rose amongst the trees, and proved that, although the many pretty houses scattered about might be as evanescent as their fragile construction indicated, nevertheless the site of Kangah had, in Siamese as well as in Malay annals, been always considered that of a town.

Whilst the rice was cooking, I thought I might as well run up and see the town: a boy volunteered to show Jamboo and me the bazaar and Datoo Mahomet Alee's elephants, and we accordingly started with a couple of followers.

The bazaar consisted of one narrow street, running at right angles to the river. Each shop had a sloping and open front, well shielded from the heat of the sun, on which was displayed the thousand strong-smelling fruits and vegetables, the gaudy Manchester prints, glaring red and yellow handkerchiefs, pretty mats and neat kagangs, piles of rice and tubs of ghee, handsome creeses, and formidable swords or choppers, which may be seen in all bazaars of Singapore, Malacca, or Penang. There were Mahometan natives of the Madras Presidency, swathed in turbans and robes of calico—the embodied forms of the Great Moguls which figure on our playing-cards; greasy, black, and very strong-smelling Klings chattered, lied, and cheated as Klings only can do; Malays swaggered about, decked out in gay attire, and sporting beautiful arms and silver-mounted spears, looking so saucy and bold that one felt half inclined to pat them on the back, and say, "Well done!" for they knew as well as we did that their hour had struck, and all the scene would soon be dissipated like a dream, and they be pirating elsewhere. A few Chinese, the Jews of the Eastern Archipelago,* were there also. They were so obsequious, so anxious to attract the attention of a British midshipman, that he, with all the dignity of that proud caste, allowed them to change a dollar for him. The Chinese were mostly money-changers. The insolent contumely they endured at the hands of the Malays struck me

* It is but justice to these industrious emigrants to say that they have been invaluable as labourers, agriculturists, artisans, and merchants, throughout our colonies; and better-conducted subjects her Majesty Queen Victoria nowhere possesses.

much. The natives of India, when ill-treated, chattered like a nest of rooks. Not so the Chinese: they bore it with cringing and shrinking; but one could see, by the twinkle of their little glittering eyes, that they only abided their time to bite the heel that bruised them. No one could have supposed, from the scene in the bazaar, that fifteen thousand Siamese were close at hand, ready to impale, disembowel, or play any of the many pranks I have elsewhere related, upon each or all of those before me.

People, however, in the East, live with their lives in their hands; and, most of all, such a floating population as that of Kangah, consisting of pirates and those blood-suckers who lived upon them, wretches who fattened alike upon them and their prey.

I now proposed to go to the elephants, which, from our guide's description, were at the other end of the town. We had just disengaged ourselves from the crowd, heat, and strong smells of the bazaar, when a general commotion occurred in the town, which had hitherto exhibited no signs of life except in the bazaar. Boys ran along screaming, women ran out in the balconies, and appeared very excited; and soon afterwards a large body of Malays, armed to the teeth, covered with dust, and looking much wayworn, passed rapidly along, marching, however, without order or military array.

I was informed through Jamboo that it was impossible for me to visit the royal stables to-day, as some important event had evidently just taken place, and a great chief—possibly the redoubted Datoo himself—had arrived. I did not much care about pushing the point,

as I was on shore on my own responsibility; and Haggi Loūng's warning left me no excuse but that of curiosity, if we got into a scrape. One of my men now sidled up to me, and said that some of the natives were getting up a report that I was a spy, and that one of them had threatened him. I decided to return to my boat; and, from expressions which were uttered by those around, found it was high time I did so. Indeed, I am not sure we should have escaped without a scuffle, had not a venerable-looking man joined us, and by his authority enforced a little more respect from the rabble. He, however, though extremely civil to me, told a deliberate falsehood, and said that the excitement arose from "the Malays under Datoo Mahomet Alee having retaken Quedah!" whereas the truth was, that the Siamese were again victorious, and marching down on the good town of Kangah.

The fidelity of the Malays generally to their chiefs was, in my opinion, most praiseworthy: they never betrayed any secrets, and never were otherwise than sanguine of eventual success. The most unfortunate, and even those apparently discontented, never proffered intelligence; and if cross-examined, invariably told us tales which we afterwards would discover had been invented to satisfy our inquisitiveness without betraying their countrymen or chiefs. Men who had escaped from the surprise and massacre of Allegagou, or the horrors of the march upon Sangorah, never upbraided their general, Mahomet Type-etam, but spoke of him as a very brave although harsh man; and one could not help recognising this valuable trait of fidelity in the Malays,

and expressing a hope that in time we should find a way of enlisting that feeling generally on the side of their British rulers.* That they were hot-blooded and impetuous, there is no need to deny; but that fiery independence of character could have been favourably moulded to their own advantage, had Europeans tried to conciliate the Malays instead of crushing them.

Like spaniels, the natives of the whole seaboard of the Indian peninsula lick the hand that chastises them: not so the Orang-Malayau; and we Englishmen should be the first to honour a race who will not basely submit to abuse or tyranny.

The ebb tide was running strong as I jumped into my boat, and, casting off from the shore, we were soon "spinning"—to use a seaman's phrase—down the stream; and Kangah, like a bright and sunny picture which one has seen but once in a lifetime, left a pleasant impression on my youthful mind not easily effaceable: one of those bright spots in the expanse of memory, which carry one back from manhood, worldly struggles, and withered aspirations, to that blest time

> "When the breeze of a joyful dawn blew free
> In the silken sail of infancy."

It is, I think, still a question which is the happier man of the two; he who, loving the beautiful in all its varied forms, finds it in some narrow spot where his

* The Ceylon rifle regiments are a most valuable corps, composed of Malays famous for their fidelity to their British officers, and have, during the war in Kandy, done right good service. Their present boast is, that if a pin is lost in the forests of Ceylon, they can find it.

lot in life may have fixed him—some petty area in which he is born, exists, and dies; or the wanderer who for a while is being pushed on from one gorgeous scene to the other, his recollection glowing with the memory of the exceeding beautiful—of the golden East, its flood of glowing light and depth of purple shade, the waving palms, and gloomy forests peopled by races who have borrowed their passions and feelings from the burning sun; and then returns to some quiet nook in the gloomy North, to await the "canker and the worm," cheering his latter days by the reminiscences of the bright and beautiful he has elsewhere enjoyed.

Some miles below Kangah the ebbing tide had rendered a spot in the river fordable, and we had some difficulty in passing it: whilst detained for this purpose, a Malay and his family crossed it. He, from his dress, was evidently of the better class, and armed like a very Rustan. The Asiatic indifference of this hero to the safety of his wives and family amused me: on reaching the water, he stalked across the ford, without even deigning to look behind to see how his three or four children fared. The two women were very modestly clad in blue sarangs, one of which crossed the chest close under the arms, and the other hung like a petticoat from the hips to the ankles. They, poor souls! were loaded with all the household goods of their lord as well as those of their children, who, following at their heels, had few garments to boast of: indeed, the two youngest were perfectly naked, with the exception of a silver fig-leaf, or heart, which hung in front, and an amulet tied round the neck by a bit of string. These imps were not tall

enough to ford the river, but took the water, to my astonishment, like fish, and gambolled across the stream.

No interruption took place at Parlis, and, aided by a rapid tide, we reached the boats in good time, no one being more cordial in his reception of me than my coxswain, the worthy Jadee. I slept soundly that night, and my lullaby was the voice of Jadee, holding forth to Jamboo on my good fortune in having found Mahomet Alee absent, for he could not be brought to believe that he would have allowed me to procure water. In this idea, however, Jadee was mistaken; for we afterwards knew that the Datoo had been perfectly aware of my visit to Kangah, but his policy was now to try and establish amicable relations with the white men in his rear, as the ten thousand muskets of His Bankokian Majesty pressed him sadly in his front.

Indeed, affairs were now in a desperate position with the Malay chieftains; yet they determined to play the game out to the last card, in the hope of some lucky turn of chances in their favour. Eastern armies, they knew, were readily assembled and as quickly dispersed: famine or pestilence had, on a former occasion, swept away in a few days a Siamese host: it might do so again; and, worse come to the worst, they had always their home—the sea—open to them, provided they could give us the slip.

Intelligence now reached us that prahus had assembled in some part of the Lancavas, or Laddas, preparatory to covering the flight of the chiefs, and this redoubled the anxieties of our captain's position. He despatched the Siamese brig, which had joined from Quedah, with two

armed prahus under Siamese colours, to cruise about and endeavour to discover the position of the secreted prahus, and enjoined the utmost vigilance on all our parts. Anxiety for the *dénouement* to take place lengthened out the last few days of March to an intolerable extent, and perhaps the torment we endured from the incessant onslaught of musquitoes and sand-flies added to our impatience. At night, all sleep was out of the question, until, worn with watchfulness and the painful irritation of thousands of bites, we dropped into a short and feverish slumber. Nothing served to keep the sand-flies off: they were smoke-proof and fire-proof; they bled you just as freely if the skin was rubbed over with oil or vinegar, lime or treacle: nothing seemed to check their abominable thirst for blood. Happily, this fearful pest had only lately commenced, and we could look forward to a speedy termination of it, not only from the end of the blockade being at hand, but because in April the heavy squalls of wind and rain which mark the close of the north-east monsoon would destroy them, by blowing their hosts to sea.

Pulo Quetam, or Crab Island, was now becoming quite a gay scene; fugitives from the province commenced to pass down, and many found their canoes so unsafe as to be obliged to stay there for repairs—forming little encampments, under temporary huts of boughs and branches, in which the curious might study the manners and customs of the Malays with the greatest facility. The inhabitants of the neighbouring village drove a roaring trade with the blockading force in the sale of anything that was eatable—whether flesh, fish, or fowl. The

variety, however, was not great; poultry being the principal article they had for sale, and rice, which was of a very excellent quality, and still so cheap as to prove that the assertion was not without some foundation, that Quedah province is capable of growing rice enough to support all the population of the Straits of Malacca. There were no less than four different species of common rice, all excellent in quality; but there was a naturally sweet description which could be converted into sweetmeats without the aid of sugar, and, if imported into England, would be invaluable for household purposes to pastrycooks.

CHAPTER XXI.

SOCIAL EVENINGS—QUAINTNESS OF ENGLISH SEAMEN—THE ADVENTURES OF LUCAS—RUNS AWAY TO LIVERPOOL—ENTERS ON BOARD OF AN AFRICAN TRADER—THE VOYAGE TO THE BIGHTS—FEVER—DEATHS—DIFFICULTY IN LEAVING PORT—A NEW CAPTAIN JOINS—VOYAGE HOME—SUFFERINGS FROM WANT OF WATER—DISORDERLY SCENES—A FIGHT—VILLANOUS BEVERAGE—A MAN FLOGGED TO DEATH—A HORRID POST-MORTEM EXAMINATION—TEMPORARY RELIEF—RECKLESSNESS—SUFFERINGS—A SECOND CASE OF MURDER—LUCAS A SAILOR "NOLENS VOLENS."

As the majority of the boats were now together, there was more sociability among the crews than we had ever before had; and the dear old Hyacinth being notoriously one of the most united and smartest crews on the East India station, everything that could relieve monotony was done by both seamen and officers in the best spirit of unselfishness. The crews of the pinnace and cutter had been remarkably healthy, although living in open boats for four months, and their spirits were proportionately light. For several hours in the evening, songs would be sung and yarns would be told over the supper-pipe or grog, and the loud chorus to the deliciously quaint melodies of

"On Gosport beach I landed, that place of noted fame,
And I called for a bottle of good brandy,
To treat my lovely, lovely dame!" &c.,

or,

"She gave unto me a gay gold ring,
And a locket filled with hair," &c. &c.

would roll through the jungles of Parlis, and put to flight all things earthly and unearthly; but if the honest fellows' melodies partook of the rudely harmonious, their yarns were decidedly well worth hearing. In all cases, they merely related their own adventures; and it required no fiction to make them deeply interesting. The hand is now cold which could truly give a sailor's narrative, in all its original phraseology and strong characteristics—the naval Fielding, Captain Marryat; and it is only in having sailors' histories told in their own way, that the general reader can ever form a correct idea of all their peculiarities of character. They have changed somewhat from Marryat's day, but still preserve all the originality of character for which their forefathers were famous: they do not drink quite so hard, nor swear so much, but they are just as overflowing with wit and humour; and the smattering of education which enables the majority to read and the few to write, has in no way injured—on the contrary, improved—the original view they always take of what passes under their notice. I shall not attempt to repeat any one of their yarns in its original clothing; but perhaps, whilst we are waiting for the closing scene in the blockade of Quedah, I may be pardoned for relating a strange tale, which I wrote down as it was told to me by a young seamen; and, as

it is somewhat startling, I may assure the reader that I have reason to believe every word to be true.

We had lately entered a young sailor, called Lucas, from a merchantman: he evidently was educated far beyond his station in life, and I heard some of the men remark that he had boasted of being the son of a gentleman. Watching for a good opportunity, I persuaded him to tell me who he was, and how he came to be in such a situation.

"My father," he said, "was a respectable tenant-farmer living near one of the seaports in the north of Ireland. His family consisted of several daughters, and myself, his only son. He spent a good deal of money upon my education, and tried hard to stifle in me a strong and early inclination for the sea—a taste I had acquired by my visits to the shipping in the harbour.

"I was sent to an inland school, to more effectually wean me from salt-water. I was in one continual row with my Dominie, and finding me very unruly, he reported me to my father, who caused me to be more severely punished and lectured. I determined to escape from what I regarded as cruelty and oppression, and, in spite of father and schoolmaster, to go to sea. Watching a good opportunity, I left school, reached Belfast, got on board a billyboy* bound for Liverpool, and landed there with a few shillings in my pocket. The master of the lodging-house that I put up at introduced me to the engineer of a steamer running between Glasgow and Liverpool, and I shipped with him as engine-room boy.

* A small description of coasting vessel, common to the British Isles.

This life I soon became tired of: the engineer seemed to consider it his privilege to thrash me whenever anything went wrong in the engine-room. All day—and all night too, if we were under way—there was one incessant call for Boy Lucas! 'Boy, oil that bearing!' 'Boy, wipe down this!' and, 'Clean up that!'. In short, I became a perfect white slave: there was but one way of escape—I again ran away.

"The abominable Scotch engineer and the steamer had not, however, sickened me of the sea; I was determined to get out to foreign countries, and to avoid the coasting trade, which is all very well for grown-up sailors, but bitter work for boys or novices. I was afraid to go back to my old lodgings, for the master of the house would have handed me over to the engineer again, so I lived about as I best could: some of my poor Irish countrymen and women often gave me a bit of food, when I had starved through a long day, going from ship to ship, asking captains to take me to the East Indies.

"I was almost despairing of success, and just on the point of returning to my father, when the master of an African trader offered to ship me as a boy. I jumped at the chance, and joined immediately. She was a large heavy-looking brig, bound to the Bonny* for palm-oil. I afterwards had good cause to know that she was a crazy old craft that had been condemned as being even unfit for the Quebec timber trade. I and one or two shipkeepers were the only persons at first on board of the brig

* The Bonny, a nautical phrase for the Bight of Benin, into which the river Bonny flows.

in the river: we had to pump her out every two hours, which I thought rather strange; the more so that the chief mate warned me that he would break my neck if he heard me say it was necessary to do so to any of the seamen who came on board to enter. Starvation had humbled me, and I held my tongue, although I saw that during the day the mate kept the working pump-bolt,* which was as bright as silver, in his pocket, and substituted for it a rusty stiff bolt, which gave the pump the appearance of never being worked. This was done to prevent the men being afraid of entering on board a vessel in which the extra work of pumping would necessarily be very harassing.

"The day came for the crew to sign the articles of agreement upon which they were to sail in the brig. Besides the captain and mate, there were a cooper and thirteen hands; each of the latter, before signing the articles, examined the pump-bolt to see if it was bright, and expressed gratification at finding it as rusty as a tight ship's ought to be: they little thought how my arms were aching from labouring at the handle, or what rogues the ship-keepers and mate were! A few days afterwards we dropped to the fair-way buoy; and one fine day all our men were brought off, the majority so dead drunk as to suffer afterwards from *delirium tremens;* and a steam-tug took us outside the river, and let us go to find our way as best we could. The captain, mate, cooper, and I set all the sails, and lived on deck for

* The pump-bolt is the pin or fulcrum upon which the handle of a ship's pump works. Of course, the more the pump is worked, the brighter the pump-bolt becomes.

about six-and-thirty hours, until some of the sailors came to their senses, which they did not do until they had fought and wallowed like wild beasts in a miserable hole called the 'fore-peak,' where the seamen had to eat and sleep. We had a pretty good passage, although the men soon found out that the brig would neither sail nor steer very well, and was uncommonly leaky: they seemed, however, accustomed to being so entrapped into bad vessels, and only abused the captain, who enjoyed the whole affair as a capital joke. The mate fell dangerously ill with some loathsome disease; there was no doctor, and he soon became such a nuisance that no one would help him. The captain let him take anything he liked out of the small medicine-chest, and at last death released the poor fellow from his miseries, though not before he had begged and prayed that he might die. His coffin was an original one: it consisted of his chest, into which they put him in a doubled-up posture, and launched him into the sea without so much as a prayer. Indeed, the crew were as bad a collection of men as could well be brought together. Although a ship's boy, I did not like them; their language was at all times gross, and they appeared for the most part to be—what they occasionally boasted they were—the scrapings of hell, Bedlam, and Newgate!

"We got directions at the Bonny from a ship's agent to go to a river, of which I forget the name: we went there, and laid the ship up, collecting palm-oil by driblets. The fever soon broke out among the crew, which was not to be wondered at, considering the dirt and the want of air in the horrid hole they lived in. Some of

the men would go to bed in the standing bunks, of which each man had one, and remain there for a couple of days at a time without getting up: they died like sheep, and were pitched overboard to the sharks. The captain likewise was attacked by fever; and although a drunken wretch of a doctor, who was kicked out of another vessel, joined us, he could not save the poor skipper, who followed the major part of his crew.

"Kroomen were entered to get on loading the ship, and, in time, we were ready for sea, with a full cargo of heavy wood and oil. But how to get the ship home would have puzzled anybody but the rascally agent who was employed by our owners; for, in addition to the want of captain and mate, the former had, in his delirium, thrown overboard all our nautical instruments and charts.

"Not far from us there was another vessel, belonging to different owners: her mate was a notorious ruffian in the African trade, and our agent promised him, if he would, on his own responsibility and risk, get our brig home to Liverpool, he should, over and above his just recompense, receive a bonus of £100 sterling. Meantime, one or two seamen of bad character, and seven Kroomen, were shipped for the passage home. One evening, late, the new captain joined: he had stolen some instruments from his former ship, and, at day-dawn, we weighed and put to sea, having actually at that time only six casks of provisions; and the greediness of the agent to fill us with oil, had barely left in the brig twelve days' water. Some of the crew growled about it, and the new captain was evidently frightened,

when he learnt how little there was in the vessel; but the agent knew he dared not now stay, and said, 'Never mind; *beg* your way home! you will soon be on the track of the homeward-bound ships.' Hardly were we clear of the mouth of the river, when the skipper who had been robbed came off in a boat to recover his property; our hero swore he would knock the first man's brains out who tried to board us, and, with an axe in his hand, seemed likely to do it. The boat satisfied herself with firing musketry at us; we merely kept under cover, and escaped without injury, through the breeze freshening. So far as I was concerned, my joy was too great at the prospect of returning home, to care a fig who was injured by our doing so.

"Next day we were put upon an allowance of water, and we all soon discovered that we had a perfect fiend to deal with in the skipper. Three weeks of foul wind now occurred, at the end of which time only a few gallons of water remained, and a horrible death threatened us.

"The captain now kept the ship away for some island; but he ought to have done so sooner; and on the second day, he came on deck with a small pot of water, called all hands aft, and served out the last drop of water by spoonfuls at a time. A dreadful week now followed: the wind was scant, and our deep-laden leaky craft did not move through the water; we ceased to speak to each other; we seemed like so many dumb creatures; and sometimes ruffians who had long been strangers to tears would be seen weeping like so many children, and praying to God for mercy. It became dead calm, with

a scorching sun, and the clouds, which sometimes mustered on the horizon, brought neither rain nor wind!"

Lucas's description of the horrors they then endured, brought vividly to my mind the lines of Coleridge:—

"Down dropt the breeze, the sails dropt down,—
'Twas sad as sad could be;
And we did speak only to break
The silence of the sea!

"All in a hot and copper sky
The bloody sun at noon
Right up above the mast did stand,
No bigger than the moon.

"Day after day, day after day,
We stuck, nor breath, nor motion;
As idle as a painted ship
Upon a painted ocean.

"Water, water, everywhere,
And all the boards did shrink;
Water, water, everywhere,
Nor any drop to drink."

"How," said he, "we used to sit and watch the setting sun, and darkness closing in upon us; for then the dew would fall, and all night long the unfortunate crew crawled about, licking the moisture from the spars, decks, and paintwork of the ship's side! We all became hideously selfish. I remember that I had, by good chance, a strong iron kettle. I set to work to boil sea-water, and condense the vapour; but I hardly made a pint of fresh water in twenty-four hours. However, I succeeded in supporting myself, without having recourse, as the majority of the crew had, to drinking salt

water, and thus avoided being attacked with dysentery, as those poor creatures were.

"A Frenchman whom he had shipped in Africa discovered that the captain had secreted several bottles of vinegar for his own consumption; and, as discipline was now totally at an end, he purloined some of the bottles, and ran forward with them, chased by the captain, who fired several shots at him with his pistols, but was afraid to descend into the 'fore-peak' after the culprit, or to otherwise call him to account. This prize was, of course, a great boon to us all, and had it been diamond-dust we could not have husbanded it more carefully than we did.

"The skipper, at all times of a most unreasonable temperament, seemed now to have lost all restraint over his passions, and seldom did a day pass without an act of wanton cruelty. One first watch, the Frenchman happened to be licking the dew off the capstan on the quarterdeck; this the skipper usually appropriated as his perquisite, and, in a fury at what he considered the Frenchman's insolence, he took up a heavy piece of wood which happened to be at hand, and as the sailor leaned over the capstan, struck him with full force on the back of the head. The Frenchman's cap saved his life, but his lips were cut through and his front teeth loosened; he gave a yell of rage, and rushed into the cook's caboose for a knife. The captain, at the same time, got a pistol out of the cabin; a scuffle ensued, in which the pistol was fired without effect, but the Frenchman gave the captain an ugly cut across the ear with his knife. The men then interfered, and they were separated.

"The cabin-boy having been attacked with dysentery, I was ordered to take his place. It struck me that if all the empty wine and beer bottles in the store-room were drained out, a little liquid might be procured for us all. I mentioned this to the crew, and they adopted my suggestion, obtaining, in all, about two quarts of what, under other circumstances, would have been considered a villanous compound. The captain took charge of it, and gave us a spoonful apiece; the remainder he placed below, on the cabin table, ready for a similar issue on the morrow.

"Unhappily, a young man who was at the helm, half-delirious with fever and thirst, observed it, and fancying no one would detect him, he watched an opportunity, left the helm, ran down below, and drank every drop of what was left. He was not quick enough to escape our lynx-eyed captain, who knocked him down, and, calling for his Kroomen, they lashed the poor wretch up to the rigging, stripped for a flogging. The captain first beat him unmercifully with a rope's end, and then made the Kroomen, in turn, do the same: the rest of the crew, myself included, were too broken down to interfere; indeed, some of them never came on deck at all. I went to the man after he was cut down: he was almost flayed on the back, and insensible. I threw sea-water over him, and, after a while, he came-to, but he was evidently dying, and begged me, when I got to England, to remember how he had been murdered: that night he died. The captain seemed a little frightened; the more so, that the crew became rather excited, and the Frenchman, as a ringleader, called him murderer, and

vowed he should be hung if God spared them to reach home.

"His fears, however, seemed to render him the more insensible to humanity; for, on the morrow, he insisted upon the drunken creature who called himself a doctor dissecting the corpse, and holding a *post-mortem* examination. Anything more horribly revolting than the whole scene, I defy the world to produce: the instruments used were the knives and saws in daily use on board the ship, for, I need hardly say, such a doctor had none of his own. All hands were sent for, much nonsense was spoken by the captain and doctor, to prove the man died from natural causes; and the poor dead man's entrails and brains were handled as if they were those of an animal; and then they were hove overboard, after which the body was thrown, just as it was, into the sea, for the sharks that were cruising about to fight over and gorge upon. It was enough to make one go mad to see such horrors perpetrated, and the feeling of utter misery was something I cannot describe.

"Several men died: the poor Frenchman was of the number, and we were in the last stage of exhaustion when God sent us assistance, in the shape of a foreign vessel that very humanely gave us a quantity of water and a little biscuit. Had she been a countryman, we should one and all have abandoned the brig; but we could not explain to them what we wanted: indeed, they did not appear to wish to have us as shipmates, which was not to be wondered at, considering what a cut-throat set of diseased villains all the crew looked. After utter want, we had now, with care, sufficient water and

food to reach the Chops of the Channel, where a man-of-war would be found, to help us if the winds were foul; and I must do our rascally skipper the justice to say, that he pointed this out to the crew, and begged them to refrain from taking more than a certain small allowance.

"But no! they had been starved. We had a fair breeze, and provisions, and they determined to feast; the consequence was, as had been foretold, we met foul winds after passing the Western Islands, which, through bad navigation, could not be sighted, and again did we run short of water; and although in a higher latitude and cooler climate, still we suffered terribly. The cabin-boy died, and nearly all the English seamen and the cooper became dangerously ill, and I was so weak as to be hardly able to walk; while the captain, though looking rather distressed at times, was, if possible, more brutal than ever. A fresh west wind sprang up: we squared yards to it; but could not make much sail, for who was to reduce it if a gale came on? Ships seemed to avoid us, for we wore all the signs of a ship with the plague—our yards and sails looking what sailors call 'nohow,' and the vessel wallowed in, rather than sailed over the sea.

"We had even ceased to go aloft to look for vessels in sight, and our crew, now reduced to six men, were just keeping body and soul together by means of condensed steam caught in a swab that we sucked in turn. Scurvy, fever, and thirst had reduced us to perfect scarecrows; we no longer heeded the cruelties or curses of our skipper, and had only sense enough left to go

to the helm in turn, and keep the brig's head upon her course. No help came until we were in soundings, and then merely through getting so close to a ship in the night that she could not in common humanity run away from us, when at daylight we hoisted the colours union downwards.

"She bore down; and when we saw her do so, I ran to the fore-peak, and said, 'We are saved! here comes a ship!' Only four men appeared upon our deck! A cask was necessary, and as we were not strong enough to unstow and get up one from the hold, the cooper, who was very ill, was brought on deck to tighten up the hoops of the two scuttle-butts which were on the upper-deck. The poor wretch had to sit down, and hammer home the hoops whilst we turned the casks round. The work naturally did not proceed as fast as the rapid approach of the ship required. This so infuriated our insane skipper (for I believe he was mad at times), that he commenced abusing the unfortunate man, who in reply telling him to go to the devil—whither he was most undoubtedly bound—worked him into a fury. He struck the cooper several violent blows, and at his last one the man rolled over into the lee-scuppers, and in a few minutes was a corpse — the captain, a murderer twice!

"The strange ship was an American one: the master came on board, supplied us with water and some provisions, sent a mate and one or two men to help the brig into port, we being then only 150 miles off Cape Clear, and then the American bore up on her course to New York.

"We arrived at Liverpool without further accident, and the authorities there took charge of the case against the captain. There were sufficient witnesses without me; and beyond having my deposition taken in writing, I was not troubled by the lawyers. The captain, I believe, was transported for life, or confined in a madhouse.

"This cruise had thoroughly sickened me of the African trade, and I might add of the sea likewise. I started off to Belfast: my father had died, and my sisters, having raised all the ready cash they could upon his property, had with an uncle of mine started for Australia, and were supposed to have settled in Port Adelaide. The sea was now my only resource. I shipped in a vessel bound to India, and you know the rest, sir. I fancy I shall end, if I am lucky, in being a warrant-officer one of these days."

Such was the tale of the sailor Lucas: the reader will allow it to be a strange one. It happened twenty years ago: yet strange things are still done where the blue sea and silent stars are the sole witnesses; and the skippers of palm-oil traders are not the only ones who act upon the Muscovite principle, that "the Heavens are high, and the Czar afar off."

CHAPTER XXII.

JADEE OFFERS THE LOAN OF A LOVE-LETTER—A MIDSHIPMAN'S SCRUPLES—THE EMERALD ORDERED TO POUCHOU—ENTER THE RIVER DURING THE NIGHT—JADEE'S SUGGESTIONS FOR WARDING OFF MUSQUITOES—JADEE FORESEES TROUBLE—A NAUTICAL SUPERSTITION OF THE OLDEN DAY—THE FLIGHT—THE SAMPAN REPULSED—THE CHASE—A PRAHU CAPTURED—PROCEED TO TANGONG GABOOSE—STARVING PIRATICAL FUGITIVES—A THREAT OF CANNIBALISM—THE HORRORS OF ASIATIC WARFARE—JAMBOO'S VIEW OF THE MALAY'S POSITION—REFLECTIONS.

About this time, we received from Tonkoo Mahomet Said formal expressions of his gratitude for the kindness shown to his wife and family. From them he had somehow received intelligence direct from Penang. Of the lovely little Baju-Mira I did not again hear; and Jadee proposed that I should send her a letter written by my interpreter. Amused at the idea, I suggested that he should compose one for me, as, by his own acknowledgment, he had been a perfect lady-killer at Singapore. Jadee was not easily abashed where his vanity was involved, and very handsomely placed at my disposal a love-letter which he was about to address to his Dulcinea at Penang. Before accepting it, however, I thought it as well to make Jamboo translate the document word for word to me—a measure which soon

showed me the impropriety of sending any such *billet doux;* although it indulged in the usual amount of poetical allusions to the beauty of the fair one's eyes, nose, lips, teeth, and hair, with graceful compliments about her figure, her walk, and her voice, it wound up with an abrupt proposal of marriage, entering rather freely into the charms of that blessed state of bondage; and as a further inducement to overcome any scruples the young lady might entertain on the score of Jadee's matrimonial inexperience, he assured her that seven wives were already placed on his list, though she should alone be his Penang sultaness.

These were lengths to which I, as a midshipman in the receipt of ten sovereigns a-quarter, did not feel justified in going; "alas for the social wants that sin against the strength of youth!" But Jadee, like an evil spirit, whispered that an anna a-day (three halfpence) would equip and support even such a Peri as Baju-Mira, in a style of princely magnificence, only to be read of in the 'Arabian Nights Entertainments.' Possibly, recollections of a stern-faced captain, and the "I'll stop your leave, sir," of a ruthless first-lieutenant, kept me from disturbing the peace of mind of the fair Malay, and then other affairs distracted my attention.

April the 2d found us surrounded by a flying multitude, and a repetition of the wretched scenes enacted at Quedah. The Siamese were finally victorious, and *Sauve qui peut!* was the cry. Rumours were flying about that the war prahus were going to make a dash out; one or two threatening messages were sent, and it became every moment more certain that the Tonkoos

must fly, or fall into Siamese hands. The excitement was intense, and no one knew the minute that the pirates might swoop down upon the little blockading squadron, and make us fight for our very lives.

In the middle of all this, while, youngster-like, I was longing to "flesh my maiden sword," some instructions arrived from Captain Warren to the officer commanding the boats (the present Captain G. Drake), ordering a gunboat to be detached to watch another river called the Pouchou, about four miles to the northward. As the junior officer, it fell to my lot to go; and I own I left with the moral conviction that there would be a bloody fray, and the little Emerald would be left out of it; a feeling not assuaged by my waggish brother officer Halkett, who made a pen-and-ink caricature of a sulky midshipman tied by the leg at a distance, while he and others were slaying whole hecatombs of enemies.

My gunboat was soon off the mouth of the Pouchou: like all the western Malayan rivers, it had a tidal bar across its mouth, though abundance of water within. The tide being then on the ebb, we hauled to seaward for an island called Pulo Pangang, or Long Island. We found it full of Malay fugitives—men, women, and children; their sufferings from want of water were something hideous to contemplate. Some had already died, others were perishing; yet, what could we do? The Hyacinth and her boats had long been on a rigid allowance; every drop of water we could spare I ordered to be given away; and a few days afterwards, as will be seen, we were reduced in consequence to great straits.

How all these people had reached the island, we could

not learn; but they owned that they came from the neighbourhood of Parlis; and some of the families remembered seeing me on the occasion of my visit to Kangah. From them we learnt that the Pouchou ran parallel to the Parlis river, and close past the town of that name. These fugitives had, I suspect, availed themselves of the former stream as a means of escape. All expressed sorrow and anxiety when they heard I was going to blockade it; indeed, one man of superior aspect was evidently distressed when he learnt that it was to be so, and tried hard to persuade me not to go there until the morrow; "for," said he, "there will be a number of women and children down to-night, and if frightened back by you, they will fall into the hands of the cruel Siamese."

A beautiful night with a bright moon lighted up the sea and forest-clad shores, as with the first of the land-wind I sought my way into the Pouchou river. The rippling music of my gunboat's stem, as she cut through the phosphorescent sea, the whirling eddies of molten silver, which in a long line astern showed our trail, and the low call of the leadsman, were the only signs of life. As we approached the bar in the shoal water, the fish, affrighted at our intrusion, darted singly away, leaving a long fiery streak behind them in the sea, such as a rocket leaves in its path through the air, and the night-hawk and other nocturnal birds swept round us, and uttered their characteristic cries.

With some difficulty—for the tide only just afforded water enough for us to float over the shoals of the bar—we got into the river, which I was sorry to find was very

deep towards either bank, as this would entail a loss of time in getting under way to chase. However, there was nothing for it but to anchor; for when I suggested the propriety of merely fastening to the trunks of some tall peön* trees, Jadee protested earnestly, assuring me that such a proceeding was contrary to all Malayan tactics; "If," said he, pointing to the black water which flowed in amongst the jungle, enveloped in a darkness that the keenest eye could not penetrate—"if you would desire to see the sun rise, O Tuhan, never secure the craft so close to a place where all the fighting men of Parlis might lie hid in canoes, and see us without our seeing them. Besides, did you not hear the cry of that night-bird?—may it be cursed! and assuredly it is so, being but the restless soul of an unbeliever!—that cry, my officer, denotes trouble!"

Knowing that there was always some sound sense mixed up with my worthy subordinate's superstitions, I at once proceeded to the south side of the river, and anchored the vessel in the deep shadow thrown over the stream by the lofty jungle trees. We were close to a point, beyond which there was a pretty bend in the river now strongly lit up by the moon, so that we should have a few minutes' warning in the event of the pirates coming down. The guns were cleared away, the powder-magazine opened, the sweeps placed ready, and then each man at his post lay down to rest as best he might. For my part, had I been inclined, it would have been impossible to close an eye. Ye gods! how the musquitoes

* Peön, a tree common to the Malayan forests, and much used for masts and spars.

and sand-flies fed upon me! Surrounded with burning cocoa-nut husks, the pungent smoke threatening ophthalmia, I underwent a torture only to be compared to the Mexican warrior's bed of burning coals.

My tender-hearted coxswain felt for me, and suggested many modes of relief. "Could I read Arabic?" "No." "It was a pity, for some refreshing chapter of the Koran (which he named) would prevent anything harming me."

"How, if I am not a believer, Jadee?" I inquired.

"God is merciful!" he exclaimed, devoutly and cleverly. "Would I allow him to tie an amulet on my arm?" "For what purpose?" "To keep off all evil, and assuredly the musquitoes come under that denomination."

Accordingly, an amulet was tied on. Like most others, it consisted, I fancy, of some extract from the Koran, stitched up in linen; at any rate, as I anticipated, the musquitoes did not respect it. "Jadee," I said, "I see that cry of the night-hawk was indeed a forewarning of my fate: you will only find in the morning the skin and bones of what was a tolerably fat midshipman; take them to the big ship, and you shall be rewarded."

For a moment the scamp laughed. "Hush! O my officer," he said; "you white men laugh at what the poor Malay man says; but if you lived like us in these great forests, and for years had no other home than a sampan, and no associates but the birds and beasts, you would know, as we do, what they wish to say to us." Honest old Jadee! why should I ridicule thee? How

long is it since we could afford to laugh at others' superstition? Here, before me, lies the history of a voyage made by English sailors, and not very long ago either: let me transcribe a paragraph of it.

A Captain Cowley is going a voyage round the world. It is the 29th June 1686, and his ship is in 19° 45′ south latitude, longitude 21° 26′ west. These facts assure us of the worthy sailor's exactness. "We had," he says, "this day great feasting on board us, and the commanders of the other two ships returning on board their vessels, we gave them some guns (that is, *fired*), which they returned again. But it is strangely observable, that whilst they were loading their guns, they heard a voice in the sea, crying out, 'Come, help! come, help! a man overboard! come, help!' This made them forthwith bring their ship to the wind, thinking to take the man up, but heard no more of him. Then they came on board of us, to see if we had lost a man: but we, nor the other ship, had not a man wanting; for, upon strict examination, we found that in all three ships we had our complement of men, which made them all to conclude that it was the spirit of some man that had been drowned in that latitude by accident." *

Hour after hour passed; the dew fell cold, and the chilled crew sat drawn up in their sarongs, with their chins resting on their knees, sleeping a dog's sleep. The moon had sloped towards her setting, the flood-tide was done, and my gunboat had just canted to the ebb, when the lookout-man and Jadee pointed towards a mere shell

* Captain William Hacke's 'Collection of Original Voyages,' 1699. Dedicated to John, Lord Somers, Lord High Chancellor of England.

of a canoe with two men in it, which was already on our beam, but on the opposite side of the river. "Stop that canoe!" I said, impatiently.

"Hark!" said Jadee. "Prahus! In the name of Allah! don't make a noise: that is only a spy, to see the coast is all clear."

The blood leapt through my veins, as I now distinctly heard, borne on the faint land-wind, the creaking noise made by the ratan fastenings used for a Malay prahu's oars. Before the men could be roused, and our cable shortened-in, the strangers swept round the point ahead; and as the light struck on them, I saw distinctly two fine large prahus, pulling eight or ten oars of a side, and a very long low canoe full of men.

My plucky little quartermaster, Sutoo, asked permission to take two hands in the sampan, and to head them at once, whilst we got under way. The tide soon brought them close to.

"Stop, O prahus, to be searched!" shouted Jamboo. They were evidently taken by surprise, and for a minute every oar and paddle ceased to ply; but it was only for a minute: they saw us, and, determined to push by, gave way with vigour; whilst female voices cried out, "Do not fire; we are women—only women!"

"Anchor, or we fire!" Jamboo and I shouted; whilst Jadee and his crew rattled in the cable like seamen.

At that moment Sutoo with our sampan grappled one of the prahus, and gallantly tried to stop one of them at least; there was a gleam of steel, and then a shout from Sutoo to fire away, for that they were armed.

As the gunboat swung round upon her heel, Sutoo

came alongside with a spear sticking in his boat that had been aimed at him. A small ratan shield, which the man fortunately had on his arm when he grasped the prahu's gunwale, showed a deep mark where a parang, the Malay sword, had come down on it.

Directly the bow-gun would bear on the nearest prahu, I fired at her with grape, and a shriek rang in our ears which convinced me that there were women on board, for the purpose, as it was immediately suggested, of preventing us firing at them. I felt that to tow a boat-load of wounded Malay women alongside the Hyacinth was not likely to conduce to my professional reputation, and I therefore ceased firing. There was nothing for it now but to chase and catch them; no easy job, I knew well, for the channels were intricate, and the night mist hung heavy to seaward.

"Give way, my Malay men; we must catch and board them." "Ya! ya! ya!" shouted the crew, as they bent to their sweeps. The excitement was gloriously intense: we could just see the prahus; but the canoe, which Sutoo assured me was a very fine one, pulling at least twenty paddles, was gone. I naturally looked to the prahus alone. At first they made sail as if for the Lancavas Islands, keeping the wind abeam; but we soon began to close with them: they then altered their course, and bore up among some small islands and shallows in Setouè Bay. At last, by a lucky accident, we cut off one prahu, and got her in a bight out of which she could not escape: an effort to push past we checked with a round of grape, which she replied to with some blunderbusses without doing any harm; and then her

crew put the helm up, and ran her over the shoals towards the jungle until she fairly stuck in the mud.

Daylight was now breaking, and we could see the Malays of the prahu decamp with their arms to the shore. Leaving Jadee to cover me with the Emerald's guns, and to keep her in deep water, I took six hands and boarded the prahu. She was a fine vessel, with no guns mounted; but doubtless had had them at one time. Half-a-dozen old women, and two men wounded by our fire, were all we found in her. Everything that would lighten the prahu was now thrown overboard, mainly bags of rice and salt, and we soon had the satisfaction of getting her afloat. We did all we could for the wounded men: they were neither of them seriously hurt, and I left two men in charge of the prize, whilst we made sail in search of the other craft. After cruising for three hours without sighting her, I returned to my prize, and took her to the island which I had, on the previous day, found peopled with starving refugees. I told the poor creatures, that as many as liked might go on board of her, and proceed to the British settlements for shelter. The wounded men requested to be landed at the northern part of the Pouchou river, called Tangong Gaboose, where, they assured us, the woods were full of unfortunate Malays like themselves—pirates by our laws.

Having seen the prahu off, we went over to Tangong Gaboose, to wait for the tide rising sufficiently to enable me to get back into my station in the river.

All I could glean from the wounded men was, that they and the other vessel, as well as a canoe pulling many paddles, had left the neighbourhood of Parlis together.

They owned to having fought with Siamese more than once, and that they hoped to do so again: but more than that we could not learn; for of the movements of their chiefs, or Tonkoos, they knew nothing, or would tell nothing.

On landing at the spot indicated by these men, I was utterly astonished, after walking a few hundred yards into the jungle, to find myself amongst a perfect crowd of fugitives. At first they showed signs of distrust; but Jadee soon soothed them with the assurance, that provided Tonkoo Mahomet Alee was not there, he and I did not wish to maltreat the unfortunates. The majority of the men were armed, carrying handsome spears, creeses, and parangs, or long chopper-shaped swords. There could not have been less than 700 souls in these woods, including women and children; an estimate verified by the assertion of a venerable Moolah or Islam divine.

They gathered round and besought aid. I never was very hard-hearted, thank God! but the scene was sufficient to have brought tears into the eyes of even the stern legislators who had declared every pirate, dead or alive, worth £20 to the captor; for here they were, young and old, born and suckled in piracy; knowing no better, and wishing for nothing better, than to be allowed to fight it out fairly with their present foes.

Poor creatures! starvation and thirst were pinching them fearfully, yet there was no escape: the sea behind them, and a ruthless enemy in front. The jungle yielded no fruit; the earth, parched by the long drought, no water. I advised them to send and make terms of sur-

render to the Siamese. An old man said, "It was certain they must do it, or starve to death;" another, who was by, said "He would as soon *eat* his own children, as run the risk of handing them over to the enemy's soldiery, who," he said, "were composed of all the outcasts of the peninsula, and cared no more for the Siamese authorities —except in so far as they legitimised their villanies— than they did for the Governor of the Straits, Touhan Bonham." I took leave of these poor creatures with a heavy heart, and, struck by the threat of cannibalism, asked both Jadee and my interpreter whether such a crime was ever committed amongst the Malays or Siamese. Jadee fought shy of the question, and merely said that there was one tribe in Sumatra who indulged in man-eating; but that if ever an Orang Malayu did it, it must be out of sheer necessity.

My interpreter informed me, that it was a usual term of reproach between one tribe of wild Malays and another to say they were cannibals; and that if it was remembered what devastating wars were carried on, and had been for centuries, by the Birmese, Siamese, and Malays, and the fearful sufferings entailed upon the conquered, in a country where the jungles yielded little fitted to support life, it would seem more than likely that cannibalism was often committed.

On this subject, quaint, earnest old Purchas tells us of a sad tale in the unparalleled extermination of the old Peguan race and kingdom by the Birmese, about 1598. I will give his words: "But of all this wealth, then wanting no store, and of so many millions people, were scarcely left seven thousand persons. Men, women,

and children had to participate in the king's siege, and those feeding on man's flesh; the parents requiring of the children the life which before they had given to sustain their own, and now laid them not in their bosoms but in their bowels; the children oftentimes becoming living sepulchres of their scarce-dead parents! The stronger preyed upon the weaker; and if their flesh was eaten up by their own hunger, leaving nothing but skin and bones to the hungry assaults of these ravenous creatures, they ripped the belly and devoured their inward parts, and breaking the skull sucked out the brains. Yea, the weaker sex was, by the strength of famine, armed with no less butcherly despight against whomsoever they could meet in the streets of the city, with their knives which they carried about them as harbingers to their teeth in these inhuman human banquets.

"Pardon me, reader," adds the good parson of St Martin's, by Ludgate Hill, "if upon this spectacle I cause thee, with myself, to stay awhile and wonder. The sun, in his daily journey round about this vast globe, saw then few equal to this Pagan greatnesse, and yet in how short a space He that is higher than the highest hath abated and abashed this magnificence lower than the lowest of his princes!"

A veritable dish of horrors ending with a fine moral, the reader will say; but I fear the horrors are still not of uncommon occurrence in those parts of Asia, as well as Polynesia, where Mahometanism or Christianity have not yet spread their civilising influence. The former, with all its faults and impurities, was a vast stride in the right direction for the Malayan races of the Archi-

pelago and Polynesia, as any one who has wandered in those localities can attest.

"I wonder," I said to Jamboo, "what will become of these poor wretches?"

"Perhaps all be dead in a few days' time, sar! This very new to you; but Malay man always go on this way: no got no friends. Dutchmen hunt them and kill, because he don't want them to carry trade to Singapore. Englishman don't like him, because he say, he d—d lazy rascal, always ready for a fight, but will not dig in the fields; too much of a gentleman, sir, for the Company; the Company want fellows, all the same Hindoo, he can kick when he got bad temper. And now come the Siamese. He not bad man, the Siamese, suppose true Siamese; but when he go to war, he get hundred other sort of fellows, who say, 'Come along, let us go rob these Malay pirates!' And so you see all the same you see to-day."

I have no doubt Jamboo was right to a certain extent, though, living as he had done in our Anglo-Malayan settlements, there might be a certain degree of partiality in his heart for the Malayan people.

We soon afterwards re-entered the Pouchou river, and I lent the perishing multitude my sampan to go up the river, and try and procure some water, and we gave them every grain of rice we could spare, poor unfortunates! And I could not help thinking how sad it was, though, maybe, they had inflicted equal if not greater sufferings upon those they had forced to fly from the province of Quedah into the forest of Patani during the previous year. One could sympathise with the sufferings

of the conquerors as well as the conquered in these wretched native wars, and commiserate the thousands who had been victims to the wickedness of the few, repeating the words of an English poetess—

"Yet not less terrible because unknown
Is the last hour of thousands: they retire
From life's thronged path unnoticed to expire,—
As the light leaf, whose fall to ruin bears
Some trembling insect's little world of cares,
Descends in silence, while around waves on
The mighty forest, reckless what is gone!"

CHAPTER XXIII.

A SURPRISE—THE STRATAGEM—ESCAPE OF MAHOMET ALEE—JADEE INDIGNANT—DISAPPOINTMENT AND CONSOLATION—WE REPORT THE ESCAPE—RAISING OF THE BLOCKADE—THE NEGLECTED WARNING—THE GIG CHASES THE CANOE—THE "LADDAS"—A MALAYAN NIGHT-SCENE—DREAM-LAND—RETURN TO THINGS EARTHLY—UNSUCCESSFUL SEARCH FOR PRAHUS—THE SEA-BREEZE—THE RACE—SHORT RATIONS—EAT BIRDS' NESTS—A LONG AND DISTRESSING PULL—ZEAL AND CHEERFUL CONDUCT OF THE CREW—REFLECTIONS.

HARDLY had the anchor reached the bottom, before we sought the rest which it had been impossible hitherto to get; and it is needless to say, that after such a night and morning of excitement, I, and I believe all my people except the lookout-men, slept soundly for some hours.

The sun had passed the zenith, and all lay hushed in that deathlike day-sleep, in which nature, as well as man, seems to seek repose during the fervid heat of an equatorial afternoon, when I was roused and told that a boat full of men and women was coming down the river. On being hailed, they came alongside, gave up their arms, which we broke and tossed overboard, and then to their joy we told them to go in health,—"Salamat gelan!"

As they pushed off, I said in joke, "You may go, for we have caught the Tonkoos!"

"What!" exclaimed an old Malay who was steering the boat, "have you caught Datoo Mahomet Alee? Did he not then escape last night? God is merciful and great," continued he, throwing up his hands, and looking the picture of sorrow.

A feather might have knocked me down, and the old man's astonishment, at being abruptly called back and pulled by the neck and heels out of his canoe by the excited Jadee, was not small.

We told him that he evidently knew all about Mahomet Alee's movements, and unless he wished to be blown away from the bow-gun, hung at the ensign-staff, boiled in the coppers—Heaven only knows what Jadee did not vow would be done to him!—he must tell all.

He soon enlightened us: it was simply, that on the previous night, Datoo Mahomet Alee, finding all further resistance against the Siamese unavailing, had embarked in a long low canoe, pulling a number of paddles, and, accompanied by two prahus filled with women and armed men, to screen his movements, had with the first ebb of the tide pushed down. My guns had been heard, and it was supposed we had captured the prahus; but all felt confident that the Datoo would escape from us, though he might be drowned, if the breeze freshened whilst he was crossing over to the Lancavas Islands, amongst which group a fleet of prahus was secreted.

My disappointment and chagrin were beyond the power of language to express. I had been fairly outwitted; my only consolation was in the fact that I was

yet a novice in the art of war, and could not be expected to be a match for all the stratagems of so accomplished an adept as Mahomet Alee; and in the next place, I felt that in chasing the prahus instead of the sampan, I had done my duty, for they would naturally be the war-boats.

There was nothing for it now, but to go and tell my gallant captain. "Up anchor!" I said. "Jadee, I must go and tell the Rajah Laut, that 'Numero Tega' has had dirt thrown on her by Mahomet Alee."

Jadee had been in a perfect state of frenzy since the intelligence was verified by some other men in the boat: he stamped, he swore, called every Mahometan and pagan saint to witness, that such an act as the Datoo had committed was contrary to all ideas of Malay chivalry. He appealed to the crew, asked them, in all their cruises—I ought perhaps to say villanies—had ever they heard of a Datoo who escaped a fight under the petticoats of a woman? If there was, Jadee with his creese was ready to send that man to Jehanum, or some other pleasant spot rejoicing in intense heat or cold; consequently, all swore they had never heard of such a thing.

However, when the poor fellow saw how cut up I was at my misfortune, he calmed down, and tried hard to afford consolation.

"Steer for the ship's usual position between Lancava and Parlis," I said. "Jadee, I am disgraced," and, youngster-like, I really felt as if I was; and a vision that it would be necessary for me to run away and join an opium-clipper as soon as possible already haunted me.

"How could you be so ignorant of a Malay stratagem?" I said petulantly to Jadee.

His unaffected efforts to take all the blame on his own shoulders, and to cheer me, were quite delightful.

"Tell the Rajah Laut" (Captain Warren) "it was my fault, my officer!" said the honest fellow. "I ought to have guessed the manœuvre when the women screamed out; of a surety, they are the source of all mischief, and limbs of the evil one!" Then he proceeded to anathematise his bronze-cheeked countrywomen in rather strong terms, but wound up with saying—what was true enough,—"The Rajah Laut will not be angry, Tuhan! He would have done the same, had he been there. Who would chase a canoe when a prahu—a capel praham*—was in sight?" "Give way! Numero Tegas" (No. 3's)—he shouted—"Mahomet Alee may be caught yet: he shall not escape us in a canoe next time!" "Hurrah!" shouted the poor fellows, and away flew the little "Number Three" under sails and sweeps towards the Hyacinth; and by the time we reached her, I had begun to fancy that the chances were yet in favour of catching not only Mahomet Alee, but his reported fleet likewise.

The ship soon hove in sight, and we altered course for her. Jadee, seeing me somewhat consoled, edged to me, sat down at a respectful distance, and, catching my eye, quietly remarked, "It was a pity we joked about the warning that bird gave us last night, Tuhan! Allah be praised worse has not befallen us. One should never

* "*Capel praham*" is a fighting prahu; they generally have a breastwork in the bows for the guns.

'laugh at the warnings he sends by the mouths of unclean creatures;" here he expectorated, to purify himself. "I ought to have known better," said he, with a self-upbraiding air: "after the number of times that accursed bird has warned me of evil, to think of my not heeding it!" He continued, "Allah be praised it was no worse!" It was evident that I might have had a tale of unlimited length, had I sought it; but such was not then my humour, so I left Jadee to soliloquise away, until we anchored close to the Hyacinth.

My worthy captain heard my tale, and then very kindly said that it was unfortunate, but could not be helped, and that the escape had been cleverly effected by a simple but well-laid manœuvre; it would be a wrinkle to me for the future; and I amused my dear friend the first-lieutenant extremely by vowing that in future all the ladies in Quedah screaming should not stop my 18-pounder, if I had another chance at the rascally Datoo.

The description we gave of the canoe excited no small interest on board the Hyacinth; for it appeared that that same morning, directly it was daylight, the signal-man had descried from the masthead a boat paddling towards the Lancavas, answering exactly to the description of the one in which the pirate chieftain had escaped from the Pouchou. The captain's five-oared gig had been at once despatched in chase of her, in charge of Mr Major, the gunner, a very gallant and determined officer. The canoe and gig had both run out of sight, and there being no wind, the Hyacinth could not weigh to go in chase and support her gig, against which the canoe had

long odds in her twenty men. Just at this juncture the Diana steamer had arrived from Penang with despatches from Governor Bonham, and she was immediately sent after the gig; and we all now were most anxious to see the upshot of the chase.

Only one good had resulted from my pursuit and dispersion of the Datoo's attendant prahus on the previous night; it was that of compelling the canoe to make the traverse of the Strait so far to the southward as to bring her in sight of the Hyacinth, which she otherwise would most decidedly not have done.

There was just light enough left to make the "general recall" for all the blockading force off Parlis. It was certain from the intelligence I brought, as well as from what had reached the captain from other quarters, that the chiefs had all escaped over to the Lancavas, and that a persistence in the blockade would do no earthly good, but might cause a host of unfortunates to fall into the hands of the Siamese, who were now completely masters of the province.

During the night the steamer Diana returned with the gig in tow. The gunner had had a severe chase, and at one time had considerably gained upon the canoe, her crew being apparently much exhausted. The intense heat and several hours' pulling had, however, distressed the gig's crew likewise: the canoe was not caught; and perhaps it was as well that the odds of a personal conflict of four to one had not to be risked, although the gallant gunner spoke of it as a fair fight, when Englishmen and black fellows were concerned.

Directly the canoe reached the wonderful labyrinth

of islands of which the Lancavas and Laddas are composed, she was safe, for it would have been difficult there to have kept in sight of a friend even. At a sudden turn amongst the tortuous channels, through which the gig still dogged the heels of the canoe, the latter suddenly disappeared "like magic," to use the gunner's phrase, and neither she nor her crew could again be seen. She was doubtless whipped out of sight into the jungle, and the Malays hid her and themselves where all the eyes of an Argus would not have discovered them.

No one could help admiring the skill and pluck exhibited in this escape of the redoubted Datoo, and he had fully supported his high reputation in the cleverness with which he and his pious *confrère* the Haggi Loŭng had evaded us all. Of the Tonkoos we could learn nothing.

By dark the Hyacinth had all her Musquito squadron around her, three gunboats and a pinnace and cutter. A rumour was afloat that Captain Warren had information of the position of the piratical nest on the Lancavas, and that the morrow would be a great day. All was curiosity and excitement, mixed with that pleasant dream-like feeling that the coming day would bring something striking and novel: with the consciousness, come what might, that it would be acceptable, for one had health and strength to make it welcome and enjoy it — without one corroding thought, one anxiety to mar it.

I see it now, that calm and beautiful Malayan night, robed in silence and Godlike majesty—the vast heaven overhead, resplendent with glittering suns of other

systems; that stream of glorious stars, the Milky Way, which renders the blue vault about it of so intense and immeasurably deep a hue—an eternity of blue; the young moon the while faintly sprinkling land and sea with a silvery light, tenfold more refreshing from the recollection of the past day of fervid, blazing sunlight; the calm unruffled ocean, like a highly-polished blade, reflecting stars and planets, ship and boats, in perfect but trembling outline—if touched by oar, or disturbed by the splash of fish feeding on the night-moths, it gleamed in many a whirl of lovely phosphorescent light, as if it were the surface of some huge crater of molten lava, iridescent where exposed to the air, but liquid fire beneath.

The low long hull of the rakish corvette; her lofty tapering spars; the apertures in her sides, through which glistened the reflected light from her polished guns, and the long pendant which quivered as the night air touched it,—told of my country's naval power; while around her lay, in the little gunboats of the East India Company and their swarthy but loyal crews, evidences of that commercial greatness which had acquired for us the empire of the East, and made its many nations seek protection under the shadow of our old red ensigns. The Saxon cry of "All's well!" and the Malay sentry's "Jagga jagga!" struck strangely on the ear; and then all the crowd of hopes for the "great to-morrow" of sweet seventeen made the pulse throb wildly: you felt, indeed, it was a bright and glorious world we live in—a fig for those who say otherwise!

It was a scene well calculated to impress any one—

even a thoughtless young seaman could appreciate all its poetry and loveliness; and it gratified all those strange longings for the wonderful which God implants, for His own good reasons, in the bosom of restless youth.

Amid such scenes the mind realises all those strange aspirations and mysterious cravings which perhaps in earlier years may have crowded into the mind when musing, as I am not ashamed to own I have done, over such lines as these:—

"There is a magnet-like attraction
That links the viewless with the visible,
And pictures things unseen. To realms beyond
Yon highway of the world my fancy flies.
When by her tall and triple masts we know
Some noble voyager that has to woo
The trade-winds, and to stem th' ecliptic surge,
The coral groves, the shores of conch and pearl,
Where she will cast her anchor, and reflect
Her cabin-window lights on warmer waves;
The nights of palmy isles that she will see
Lit boundless by the fire-fly—all
The pomp of nature, and the inspiriting
Varieties of life she has to greet,
Come swarming o'er the meditative mind."*

Yet, O reader! by my beard I swear, that if thou hast not felt this, poetry and prose are alike lost upon thee; and all I can say is, Heaven help thee! Thou hadst need be sad if thou canst not quit this dull earth a while and revel in the ideal, even as a light-hearted midshipman may.

How much longer I should have given way to this vein, deponent knoweth not; but, to my discomfiture—

* Campbell, 'Lines from St Leonard's.'

though possibly to the joy of those who may peruse these pages—the interpreter and Jadee interrupted me. They said I had given away all the rice and water, and that there was hardly enough left to give the people their breakfasts next morning. It was sad information to receive at such a juncture. I knew all the boats, as well as the ship, were at the end of their provisions and stores, consequently unable to replenish our wants; and that if I made any application upon that head, we should be assuredly sent down to Penang, and lose our share in the closing scenes.

I explained all this to Jadee: he fully entered into my feelings, begged me to say nothing about it; assured me, if I did not mind it, that a few days of nothing to eat and nothing to drink were of very common occurrence for himself and his countrymen; and that although it was his full intention to marry a certain lovely "Tedia" on his arrival at Penang, and she was impatient for his return, he could not think of doing so before the operations against Quedah were finally and perfectly finished; "and as," said Jadee, "we have some cocoa-nuts and birds' nests on board, we shall not, at any rate, starve, Tuhan."

Accordingly, it was decided that I should say nothing about the want of provisions, and that we were to trust in Providence for a windfall of rice and water, which, together with an occasional bite of salt fish, had long been mine as well as the crew's victualling.

At cockcrow next morning—and in Malayia he must be a clever man who can escape the melody of chanticleer—the steamer Diana took all the gunboats in tow,

and we proceeded towards a small river called the Lungo, north of Setouè Bay. Casting off from her when she could not approach nearer from want of water, we pulled in for the place, expecting to find a squadron of seven war prahus: but here again the birds had flown; we only found the nests. The Lancavas were still reported to hide the prahus of Mahomet Alee, and the Siamese brig had been beaten off from a place called Malacca, on those islands. Towards Malacca, therefore—or rather for the Lancavas Islands—we now rowed all that long scorching-hot afternoon, and anchored in the evening at seven o'clock, after a heavy but unsuccessful day's search, our position then being on the eastern shores of the Lancavas Islands.

The steamer and Hyacinth parted company, going to the southward, and we were next day to proceed northward, examining alongshore for prahus, and to join the ship off the town of Malacca. We had only had this day one meal of rice and a couple of drinks of water each man on board the Emerald; fatigue, however, enabled us to sleep soundly until about one o'clock on the following morning, when I was ordered to weigh, in chase of a vessel that was seen to the southward. By daylight I had got sufficiently close to ascertain that it was No. 1 gunboat, and then turned back, catching the Musquito squadron just as it had finished sweeping along the eastern shores of the Islands, and had made sail to a fine rattling sea-breeze which was rushing in between the Islands of Lancavas—or Langkawi, as the Malays called them—and Pulo Trotto.

With the tacks of our sails well down and sheets flat

aft, we slashed our boats up against the fiery breeze (fiery only in the sailor's acceptation of that term), hatches on, and green seas flying four reefs high! it was glorious excitement to feel every plank quivering with the momentum given by the sails. "One reef, and no more, Jadee, as you love me! There's Halket in the Ruby carrying canvass as if he had the 'little cherub' stowed away in his fore-peak, and knew no harm could come to masts or hull. Barclay in the cutter and Drake in the pinnace are just as bad as we, boys! they are fairly smothering themselves in spray.

"Whew! the gusts freshen, let fly the sheets for a minute, and then haul aft again. Talk of the excitement of Newmarket! it's nothing to a chase to windward when the breeze is fresh and the sails are large!"

As my little craft passed the pinnace, Mr Drake hailed, and desired me to proceed, make the best of my way to Malacca, prevent all egress until his arrival, and to look out for his signals during the night. We weathered the Islands in the afternoon, and then proceeded to see what could be scraped together in the shape of food. Not a drop of water or grain of rice was left, and first the night-chase and then the breeze had prevented us procuring any from the other gunboats. It was now that I saw the edible birds' nests first eaten,—Jadee had got a bag of them out of some prahu; and there were, moreover, some green cocoa-nuts: each man was given one of the latter, and any that liked might help themselves to the nests!

I partook of both, the nests tasting very like isinglass, but serving to stay the cravings of a very keen appetite. The wind now fell, which distressed me much, for my

men, though not complaining, were very exhausted: however, lest we should be thrown upon an iron-bound coast, the oars had again to be manned, and with difficulty we made our way along, for the sea on the beam caused the vessel to roll so much that the men could hardly keep their seats.

Night came on, and the coast was still a sheer cliff: however, my Malays behaved admirably, and pulled cheerily, encouraging one another with the prospect of plenty of rice and fish on the morrow. At last, after three long and anxious hours, a bay showed itself on our left hand: fancying it was that in which the hostile prahus and battery were situated, we loaded the guns afresh, and pulled carefully in, but made the circuit of it without finding anything. I almost had decided on awaiting daylight, when a dip in the land gave promise of another bay, and as we swept round a rocky point, numerous lights afloat and on shore showed we had reached our destination. The oars were now rapidly muffled, my crew zealously wrapping part of their wearing apparel round the looms of their oars; and thus we swept in, pulling a quiet minute-stroke.

Directly we could distinctly make out the hulls of the prahus, the oars were laid in, and when the gunboat had lost her way through the water, an anchor was bent to a hawser, and lowered cleverly down to the bottom, so as to make no noise in anchoring; all lights were carefully hidden, the decks cleared for action, and thus we lay, watching the enemy's two outer vessels, a large schooner and a prahu, without their being aware of our presence in the bay, a light mist serving still further to conceal us.

I have been thus minute in the last two days' operations, to show the reader how zealous, docile, and cheerful the Malays could be when the occasion required it. They had had no rations since the previous day at about eight A.M., and no water since the previous night; they had been twenty-four hours upon their oars during the last forty hours, yet not a murmur escaped them; and I would defy seamen of any nation to have excelled them in any quality which renders a sailor valuable. I cannot but feel that, in a nation like ours, possessing a vast colonial empire, which, in the event of a war, either for our commercial supremacy with America, or for our civil and religious liberties with despotic Europe, we might be sorely pressed to defend, it behoves every loyal man to cherish and uphold a race of sailors who combine, with all their faults and all their vices, many of the finest attributes of a seafaring people.

They may be pirates, they may be buccaneers—so were we; and we still pride ourselves upon the naval glories of men who founded our reputation as a naval nation upon what was nothing less than robbery upon the high seas. Restrain and bring the Malays under our rule gently, and they will serve us heartily and zealously in the hour of England's need; they are the best race of colonial sailors we possess: grind them down, shoot them down, paddle over them, and they will join the first enemy, and be their own avengers.

CHAPTER XXIV.

A TROPICAL SHOWER—EARLY BREAKFAST—THE MALAY PIRATICAL SOIREE—JADEE UPBRAIDS THEM FOR BEING SURPRISED—PREPARING FOR ACTION—DEMEANOUR OF ENGLISH AND MALAY SEAMEN—MALAY CHARM FOR SHOOTING STRAIGHT—MY COXSWAIN; HIS PIETY—BURNING, SINKING, AND DESTROYING—THE RENEGADE TURNS TRAITOR—THE LARGE REPTILES OF LANGKAWI—THE TALE OF THE OULAR-BESAR, OR GREAT SNAKE—THE SNAKE CHOKED BY A HOLY MAN—A REMARKABLE FOSSIL—A PIRATE'S HIDING-PLACE—LOVELY SCENERY—THE ANGER OF THE SKIES—STRUCK BY LIGHTNING—CLOSE OF OPERATIONS AGAINST QUEDAH—CONCLUSION.

ABOUT midnight down came the rain—vertically, mercilessly, as it only can and does in the tropics. We got up, for sleep was impossible, and drank and washed, washed and drank, of the water like veritable ducks. Flashes of vivid lightning lighted up the bay occasionally, and showed us, not only that a considerable force of Malay vessels had at last been caught, but that our own flotilla was pulling in from to seaward.

That they too saw us was very evident from the occasional noise which was heard, and the number of lights dancing about on shore. At about three o'clock in the morning we sent away to the Diamond gunboat,

and got a bag of rice and some fish, as well as a cask of water: the fire was lighted at once, and I gave an order for *carte blanche* in the gastronomic way. It was indeed a delightful breakfast, though an early one, for the dawn was only just breaking. Let any one fast eight-and-forty hours, and he will think the same, even supposing that he should have had, like ourselves, one green cocoa-nut and an unlimited quantity of birds' nests to refresh himself with meanwhile.

When the sun rose, and the night-mists rolled back from the lands around us, our little flotilla lay at anchor in the northern part of a beautiful bay, which revelled in all the loveliness of Malayan scenery. The Hyacinth was just appearing at the opposite extreme of the bay, having passed round the south end of the Lancavas as we had done by the north.

The pirates were fairly caught. Their vessels consisted of two queer-looking schooners, mounting ten small guns each; one of them had 12-pounder carronades, the other 3-pounder and 6-pounder guns. Three large and handsome prahus and a tope constituted the rest of their force, the prahus showing three or four guns, and the tope a 32-pounder carronade. These vessels were all covered by an eight-gun battery, situated on a small conical hill in the elbow of the bay; this battery it was that had so roughly handled the Teda Bagoose, or Good-for-Nothing, the slashing brig of our imperial allies. There was much excitement on shore; armed men were passing and repassing rapidly amongst the cocoa-nut trees that lined the beach, boats were paddling to and fro, but there was no village to be seen.

The pirates were evidently surprised. They had doubtless counted upon the grace of another day or two, when this rear-guard would have escaped, as most of the forty prahus did that we had seen at Trang in the previous year.

It was necessary to await Captain Warren's arrival in the gig of the Hyacinth before we could do anything against the enemy; and I had plenty of time to hear Jadee descant in flowery terms upon the beauty and advantages of the Lancavas Islands over Quedah proper, of which, however, in the good old days, it formed a part. One of its chief merits in my sea-king of a coxswain's eyes, was the wonderful facilities its labyrinth of islands and channels offered for the safe hiding of a fleet of a thousand prahus.

"D—— pouls!" said Jadee, Anglicising his opinion of the enemy's prahus now cut off. "Ah! you d—— pouls! Had I been their captain, Tuhan, do you think I would have anchored in such a place as this, whilst *Orang-putihs* were cruising about? Ah! you d—— pouls! The Datoo cannot be here," added Jadee—for my coxswain did him the justice to believe that so experienced a tactician would not be caught in an open bay. Then my worthy Jadee proceeded to point out some localities famous in his recollection for Love and War, the only two deities he believed in, and of sundry foiled chases he had had of prahus in and amongst these Lancavas since he took Company's pay.

Captain Warren was seen to be approaching, and the word was now passed to clear for action! Jadee and his crew did so with extreme alacrity. He adorned

himself according to the most approved rules of Malay military etiquette. His sarong was wrapped tighter round the waist, and brought round the thighs so as to leave his nervous little legs more than usually free; a red sleeveless waistcoat, quilted so as to resist a knife-cut, hung slack round his person, leaving his muscular chest and arms ready for any exertion; whilst a stiff and cocksy-looking handkerchief fluttered around his glossy and erect hair, and in combination with his square chin, high cheek-bones, and an enormous quid of tobacco stuck under his upper lip, made him look as ferocious an individual as ever figured in the character of a blood-thirsty Malay in a three-volume romance, even supposing that he had not bristled, as he did, with no less than three creeses. He had, first, his badi, or small knife, answering to the Highland skene-dhu; then the regular waving-bladed creese of about a foot or fourteen inches long; and, lastly, a heavy straight double-edged Illanoon creese, resembling somewhat an old Roman sword.

The rest of the crew were got up in a very similar manner, and strutted about with a martial ardour quite comical, in so far as it was a demonstrative mode of exhibiting the same feelings which fluttered in the breasts of our more stoical English seamen and marines. These were quietly examining percussion caps, or seeing the nipples of their muskets all clear, and indulging in some rough jest; such as that of Joe Hutchinson, the marine, who, taking an imaginary aim at some object on shore, apostrophises his musket thus:—"Well, this old gal" (his musket) "never misses fire at practice; and if she only shoots straight to-day, and pitches my sixty rounds

into them precious Malays, I'll cut a notch in the stock, and give her my grog, if she likes;" or the light-hearted foretopmen, or skylarking flaxen-headed Lambies,* who, polishing their cutlasses, wonder if they will be able to play the fifth-stick practice on the head of some unfortunate pirate with "this here cutlash," or suggest innocently to some old petty-officer that they felt jolly well sure there were both grog-shops and women ashore, and hanged, if they had a chance, if they wouldn't look for them!

A playful tendency, or moral weakness, which of course the petty-officer mentally resolves they shall not indulge in, if a sharp pair of eyes can prevent these frolicsome individuals carrying out their intentions.

"Tuhan!" said Jadee, looking the picture of mystery, "have you got a piece of pork that you could spare?"

"No; but I can get a bit in a minute," I replied. "What are you going to do with the unclean animal?"

"It's a great charm," said Jadee. "I forgot it until the captain of the bow-gun reminded me; but it's invaluable against an enemy."

"What? How? In what way, O Jadee?"

"Simply by cutting it up into small pieces, and putting it into a gun upon the first round it fires."

"Botheration!" I said; "why, you are like an old Malay lady, Jadee! firing fids of pork at a man won't hurt him."

He coloured up, and walked away; but Jamboo came and said, "Do get a bit of pork, sir; these Malay men

* Lambies, or lambs, a nickname for the youngest seamen in a man-of-war, generally the mizentopmen.

think it a charm to make a gun shoot straight; they have some tradition about it, and it will not do any harm, at any rate." Accordingly, I got them a bit of pork, and Jamboo cut it up, and Jadee loaded the bow-gun with grape, canister, and chopped pork—a villanous compound, to say the least about it—and then resumed his station, perfectly ready for what Allah might in his wisdom send him.

Captain Warren now joined us, inspected the boats to see that all were ready, of which he would have entertained no doubt could he have only known the charge in my 18-pounder,—and then a message was sent in to the pirates, giving them five minutes for an unconditional surrender of their vessels.

It is a great five minutes in a man's lifetime, that five minutes before an action is commenced; especially when, as was the case with us, there happens to be a disparity of forces on his side.

"Jadee," I said, "Datoo Mahomet Alee will send you to join the houris to-night."

He was not in a jocular mood: he drew his hand across his throat, and pointed his fingers upward, as if he felt perfectly certain his virtues would lead him that way, and said "his life was in the hand of Allah," adding that beautiful verse from the Koran, which is so often used as the war-chant of the true believer: "Exult not, and despond not, so shall ye prevail."*

Jadee's chances of a heavenward flight were, however, dashed to the ground, for the Malays showed evident intentions of surrendering their vessels; indeed, they

* The Koran, 3d chapter.

decamped as fast as possible from them and the battery before the expiration of the five minutes. The nicodar of one of the vessels, a tope, came to Captain Warren and prayed for mercy, with the excuse that he was only an armed trader; and rather than be unjust, his very doubtful assertions were allowed to have weight, and he was ordered to be off as fast as the wind would let him. This hero was the renegade son of an old English soldier, who lived at Penang; he had adopted Mahometanism as his creed, and could not have been distinguished from a Malay in any respect.

Orders were now given to pull in, and burn, sink, and destroy: this was done with no small goodwill. The prahus and schooners were soon wrapt in flames, their guns being first thrown overboard; then the battery was dismantled, and the guns disabled most effectually. In a small creek we discovered two more very handsome prahus, just off the stocks, and a couple of long brass 9-pounders; furthermore, we found abundant proofs that the Malay chieftains had been winding up their affairs, and that, had we been a few days later, they would have flitted back to their native haunts in Sumatra.

As it was, there was still a possibility that their escape from the island would be now prevented, and that they might eventually fall into Siamese hands.

As every fresh explosion took place, or a fresh outbreak of fire and smoke betokened the success of our work of destruction, loud cheers and shouts rose from the English and Malay seamen, and one could hardly recognise, in the excited actors of this scene, the men

who a short week previously had been ministering to the wants of the fugitive pirates of Quedah fort and Parlis town, or dry-nursing their infants. Funny fellows are sailors, whether English or Malay—a strange mixture of the tiger and the lamb.

When everything was wrapt in flames beyond all possibility of the conflagration being quenched, we had a hasty noonday meal, and were then ordered to "make sail and man the oars," the renegade having offered to conduct us to a spot where he said there were fifteen prahus concealed.

'Yah! yah! yah! responded the gunboat's crew, to the Englishmen's hurrah at the joyful news; and away we dashed for a place amongst the Laddas, called Bass Harbour, and, turning into lovely and tortuous channels, rushed on like bloodhounds after our prey. "Now," said my coxswain, "you will see Malay scenery and Malay men's haunts!"

The island of Lancavas—or islands, for there may be more than one—is surrounded by a host of islets, called the Grains of Pepper (from their number), like an emerald set in seed-pearls. Lancavas island is mountainous, but has broad valleys in its interior, and a considerable quantity of flat land bordering the eastern and southern shores. While the plains and rice-fields of Quedah are parched by a drought of many months' duration, the hills of Lancavi collect around their summits the vapours of the sea, which, as they condense, fall in refreshing showers upon the thirsty vegetation at the base.

It is not therefore to be wondered at that, even

amongst the naturally dense jungles of Malayia, those of the valleys of the Lancavas are pre-eminent, and that in those dank and hot forests reptiles abound of enormous size. The great boa-constrictor here grows to a size which it will not do to talk of without being able to produce the original, though I am morally convinced that the skin of one which I saw, without its head, must have been from 25 to 30 feet long, when complete. However, if I wanted to get a true and faithful account of a very father of snakes, I had only to refer to Jadee: he had a stock on hand which would have satisfied the most credulous glutton.

Whilst crossing Malacca Bay, I suggested that he had spoken of a famous snake, which was only got rid of by a very devout Haggi—perhaps Jadee would favour me with the history? but mind, I wanted it unadorned—a really faithful tale which I could swear to.

Jadee looked serious, put his hand upon his breast, and trusted his veracity was beyond all suspicion, and that, at any rate, I might swear to receiving all information just as unadulterated as it came to him: what more could I expect?

Crossing his legs, renewing his quid, and shouting to his men to "give way!" and beat Number Two gunboat, he then proceeded to relate how, in former days, the Rajahs of Quedah were bound by a law, whenever a new king ascended the throne, or when war was declared with another state, to sacrifice a virgin daughter of the royal family to an enormous boa-constrictor, or Oular-besar, that dwelt on the Lancavas, though it would occasionally visit the Malay continent. In return for this

delicate tribute, the Oular-besar abstained from feeding largely on the Quedah folk, confining its attention to Siamese, or people of Mergui, and suchlike *canaille;* and it even extended its good offices to watching over the homes and wives of its Malay friends who were absent upon little innocent cruises at sea. Indeed, so far had they succeeded in propitiating its goodwill, that on a hostile fleet of prahus appearing suddenly off this very bay, the generous boa-constrictor stretched itself across from one point of it to the other as a boom, and defied all the efforts of the enemy to enter. Jadee pointed first to one horn of Malacca Bay and then the other, and though they were a couple of miles apart, I'm bound to say Jadee did *not* blush, as he added, "and that will give you, O my officer! some idea of its length!"

I coughed, and said I should like to have seen that snake's mother! My coxswain's feelings were hurt; he was silent, until I gently smoothed down his feathers by asking what might have been the end of this very amiable monster. He continued, "When Mahomet,—may his tomb exhale unceasingly the odour of holiness!—sent holy men to show the poor Malays the road to Paradise, the Haggis said it was wrong to sacrifice, even to such a big snake, and the kings' daughters were not sent to feed the Oular-besar.

"The creature became very annoyed, and the consequence was, he almost cleared the island of Lancavas of its population and cattle. All schemes failed to check its wrath, prayers were offered up in all the mosques, but for our previous sins the Oular-besar still lived, and still kept swallowing up Malays, until the fields were left

untilled, and the country was fast becoming one great forest. At last Allah sent relief, as he always does to the faithful.

"One day, a most holy man, an Arab Sheik, famous for his piety and knowledge of the word of God, arrived at Quedah; he exhorted all the people to remain firm in their new faith, for some of them were backsliders, and thought of the good old times. He pointed out to them, that the wrath of the Oular-besar was only a means to test their faith; but that now Allah was satisfied, and had sent him to put a stop to their sorrows. The holy man now prayed, and all the people with him, and then he took ship, and proceeded to the Lancavas,—anchoring near the place where we destroyed the prahus. The holy man performed his ablutions, said his prayers, put on his green turban, and, balancing the Koran on his head, landed at once either to drive the Oular-besar away or to die.

"Down came the snake from those distant valleys, and looked wistfully at the high-dried, tough old Arab; and the poor boa-constrictor no doubt sighed at the remembrance of bygone titbits. The holy man spread his carpet and began to pray; the Oular-besar wrapt him in one fold of its deadly grasp, and a shriek of 'God is great!' rang in the ears of his shipmates as he disappeared down the throat of the monster—turban, Koran, and all!

"Instead of the Oular-besar reposing, as was to be expected, while it digested the venerable Haggi, a violent fury seemed to seize it; its whole body writhed in a perfect frenzy, it raised its head high above the loftiest

trees, its eyes flashed lightning, and for a few minutes the creature seemed upon the point of dashing into the sea; then, with a hiss that made the beholders' blood curdle in their veins, it shot swiftly away in the direction of the mountains, and since that day the Oular-besar has never been seen, and its brethren generally prefer pigs, poultry, and game to true believers!"

"Wonderful!" I exclaimed; "and so no one has ever seen the big snake since?"

"No one, Tuhan! The words of the holy man came true; for when did a Haggi tell a lie?—but some of the gold-seekers who scale those mountains you see in the direction of Patani, report that in a deep and narrow valley there is to be seen the vast bones of a big snake around a long green stone, which doubtless, as Allah is great, are the remains of the Oular-besar and that most virtuous priest."

"Ah! I see, Jadee," added I, "the priest, in English sailors' phrase, 'choked the luff'* of that snake."

"Very probably," said Jadee, to whom I had not interpreted the expression. "Very probably, Tuhan; but it was a happy day for Quedah when that holy man came to it."

Meantime the boats had entered a wonderful labyrinth of islands and deep-water channels: not only, as Jadee had said, might a thousand prahus have been hidden away, but a fleet of line-of-battle ships might

* "Choking the luff" is done by placing a piece of wood or rope in a block or pulley, in such a way that the rope which is rove through the block will not run. The term is often applied to a tough story not easily swallowed.

easily have been secreted in the tortuous channels and hundred creeks around us. It was a sight to make the heart leap, and the blood to flow fast, to be thus surrounded by such gorgeous Eastern scenery; it was exactly the haunt one had imagined ought to exist for dashing pirates and fleet-footed prahus.

Now we are passing through that heavenly blue water —bright and clear as woman's eye—which shows, over a coral bed, a diminutive and wonderful submarine forest of every fantastic form and colour, over which we are swiftly passing. On the one hand lies a long and picturesque mountain, clothed with luxuriant vegetation, aslant which the western sun is casting a million tints of warm and luscious colouring; on the other, some fantastic islet throws its sharp outline up against the sky, whilst the graceful palm, the plantain, and pandanus hang round it, here clinging to some grey rock, like old age in the arms of beauty, or feathering over the edge of a beetling cliff, as if they were ostrich plumes round some grim warrior's head.

A little farther, the trail wings through a maze of islets and "lustrous woodlands," each unlike its neighbour, and strangely beautiful; and just when all farther progress seems hopeless in such a tangled web, there bursts upon us a broad expanse of water, laughing in sunlight and breeze. It might be a lake, except that between the islets on the seaward side the light of a declining sun streams in, in a flood of gold which contrasts richly with the deep purple of their shaded sides.

On, on we went, now sailing, now rowing—narrow channels, over which the trees appeared to arch, led

away as if to the base of the tall peaks of the interior, around whose crests were fast mustering heavy clouds, which portended one of those fierce squalls for which the Straits of Malacca are famous, and generally known under the name of Sumatrans; and then we swept along a beach so white, so glittering—flowers and coral, vegetation and sea—it seemed as if Neptune and Flora were striving for mastery.

At nine o'clock that evening the squall which threatened at sunset swept over the beautiful scene I have made a feeble effort to portray. As the thunder pealed over our heads, and the forked lightning crackled through the refreshing gale, we came to anchor, and rested after another long day's labour. I was surprised to observe the superstitious horror betrayed by my crew at the thunder and lightning, for I thought these would have been to them very ordinary phenomena.

During the storm, some portion of the electric fluid, on its passage to the water, took a fancy to make a conductor of a chain-cable and an anchor that were hanging to the bows; there was immediately a general appeal to Mahomet and the Koran; and one man, more devout or more wealthy than the rest, made a vow to sacrifice sundry game-cocks and certain rice: be it said to the Malay's honour, that a few days after, when, as he believed, his prayers had been granted, and all danger was over, his promise was faithfully performed.

Jadee remarked in a serious tone to me during the squall, and referring to the thunder, "that the skies were angry." I ventured jestingly to reply, that perhaps it was the Oular-besar suffering from indigestion,

brought on by the Haggi! Jadee was horrified, and said that Malay men knew too well what thunder and lightning were, to joke at them. I believe he began now to think me a scoffer; for, like all Malays, he held local legends and superstitions in equal reverence with Mahomet's doctrines. Perhaps, too, it occurred to him that though he was no Haggi, yet his chances of entertainment amongst the houris would be smaller still if he was not more guarded in communications upon religious subjects with an infidel like myself.

The next morning, at early break of day, we were again pulling and sailing under the guidance of our renegade guide; but after searching every spot he suggested, and chasing sundry imaginary prahus which, on close approach, resolved themselves into the stems of old trees, or rocks, it became certain that the birds, if there ever had been any, had flown, and our captain decided on returning to the ship.

In obedience to our orders, and with a fair wind, we commenced to thread our way back again through the Laddas, reaching the Hyacinth late the same afternoon.

The next day saw the close of our operations against the Malays of Quedah: it was very evident that all those that could fly had done so; those who remained had no resource but to give in their allegiance to the Siamese Government or stand the consequences. Numero Tega and the other gunboats were ordered to proceed to Penang, whilst their quondam commanders returned to the Hyacinth, after an absence of one hundred and fourteen days.

It was not without regret I bid my crew good-bye;

for my first essay as a captain had been a very, very happy one; and if ever a set of poor fellows tried to show that the feeling was mutual, it was exhibited in the warm good-bye of Jadee and his swarthy crew.

My tale is told; the Hyacinth remained on the coast only a few days longer, and Captain Warren communicated with the new Siamese authorities of Parlis and Quedah. He damped their military ardour at Quedah fort by obliging them to liberate very expeditiously a British subject whom they had captured, and upon whom they were about to practise some original cruelties. The Rajah of Ligor, commander-in-chief of the Siamese forces, sent to express his gratitude for all the able assistance that had been received from us, accompanying it by a token of his Imperial master's favour, in the shape of a valuable gold teapot for our gallant Captain, which he received official permission to retain, together with a most cordial letter of thanks for his able services from the Governor-General of British India, the Earl of Auckland.

Dear reader, farewell! If, in my attempt to give you a fair impression of the much-abused Malay, I have succeeded in removing from your mind one prejudice against that people, I shall not have written in vain, and I shall have done my part towards making you think, as I would fain do, that

> "God framed mankind to be one mighty family,
> Himself our Father, and the world our home."

A CRUISE

IN

JAPANESE WATERS

A CRUISE IN JAPANESE WATERS.

IN

H.M.S. FURIOUS.

CHAPTER I.

In the month of August 1858, we left the north of China, and sailed from the important city of Tientsin, bearing the cheering intelligence to Shanghai of a treaty of peace having been concluded between the Empires of Great Britain and China, and of the advent of a great era in the history of the latter nation. Henceforth, thanks to allied arms and allied diplomacy, China was open to the enterprise of the missionary, traveller, or merchant; and the ships of England might not only visit her sea-board and enter her harbours, but were at liberty to penetrate to her farthest borders, by means of that noble stream, the Yang-tse-Kiang, which flows by and through her richest, and hitherto most secluded, provinces. Many other valuable concessions were made; but the above-mentioned were those most fraught with change

to the "Central Land," and with promise to British interests, commerce, and policy.

A thorough appreciation of the unhealthy condition of the European mercantile intellect located at the "Five Ports" in China, carried us through the anticipated ordeal of being told by the majority of our belligerent merchants, that we had not slaughtered half enough Chinamen, and enabled us to smile at captiousness, that seemed to think nothing was gained so long as they had to pay taxes or dues to contemptible mandarins! Happily, people at home would think more wisely and more disinterestedly upon the subject, and England would rejoice that so much good had been wrought with so little violence, and that our arms, though they had punished severely, were free from the charge of injustice and robbery. All in Europe who had ever known or read of China, would appreciate the humiliation that the proud and exclusive Court of Pekin must have endured, when it yielded the points which have already been made public through the medium of the press. Therefore Anglo-Chinese opinions did not press heavily upon our spirits—but the heat did. What a constant exercise of ingenuity it is to procure a draught of fresh air—or, more correctly speaking, a draught of air only—during the July heat of a Shanghai summer! There is nothing fresh or pure at that unhappy period; all Nature stinks aloud; and any one gifted with acute olfactory nerves in Shanghai, must necessarily suffer from nose-ache, until all sense of smell is lost, or thoroughly blunted. Unsavouriness and close-steaming heat apart, Shanghai is replete with interest. Situated in a rich and highly-

cultivated plain, near the mouth of the "Son of the Ocean," as the Chinese figuratively style the Yang-tse-Kiang, and on the eastern sea-board of the great valley which stretches north to Pekin, and west to the mountains of Stychuen, closely connected with most of the important cities of this empire by means of a wonderful ramification of canals, Shanghai is, in fact, the Liverpool of China, and likely still more to rise in commercial importance as the results of the Treaty of Tientsin develop themselves.

It was on Saturday the 18th June 1842 that the boats of the British fleet opened the port of Shanghai to the ken of the world; and sixteen short years afterwards, the value of the European and American exports and imports amounts to no less than *twenty-six millions of dollars* per annum, or, at the present rate of exchange, *six millions sterling*, of which the lion's share goes to or comes from Great Britain and her colonies. These figures give some idea of the progress of commerce in a city, even in this slow-moving country; but the scene of bustle Shanghai offers is still more striking. Eighty odd sail of splendid clippers, fleet-footed racers of the deep sea, from London, Liverpool, Aberdeen, and New York, are riding at anchor off the quays; flags and pennons, as varied in colour as their owners and consignees are numerous, flaunt gaily in the fervid zephyrs that waft anything but ambrosial smells from the fields and gardens of a people who are far too practical to care for the filthy means whereby their vegetables are brought to market in such marvellous perfection. We know that directly the monetary crisis in Europe has ceased to re-

act upon the firms established here, and that the new crop of teas shall have arrived from the tea-growing districts, every wharf which projects into the river will be inaccessible for the throng of lighters pressing around them, and that crowds of sweltering coolies or porters will wail over their burdens, ever repeating their melancholy cry of "Ah-ho! ah-ho-ho!" Allah be praised that that busy scene has not yet commenced, for then our only hours of rest, from four o'clock until seven o'clock in the morning, would be broken, and heat, stench, musquitoes, combined with coolies, might drive us to desperation, and to take a passage home in the first Peninsular and Oriental mail-boat, and thus mar our anticipated visit to Japan.

The lull in European commerce does not appear to have checked Chinese activity wherever money-making is to be done; and although, in their jargon, Messrs Smith, Brown, and Robinson "have makee broke!" or "that new chop tea no catchee yet, by-and-by can do," yet that in no way affected the Chinaman's line of business. In the city, about the river-side, and in narrow pestiferous streets, there is a clang and din of commerce. Oily, strong-smelling men rush past you, carrying loads of sugar or fusty bags of rice; here piles of rattans impede the way, or bundles of dye-woods rattle about your shins; and then all the conglomeration of foul smells is suddenly mastered by tubs of some abomination brought from the Eastern isles to tickle the palates of the sons of the Flowery Land!

Put on a pith hat, spread a thick cotton umbrella, take advantage of every streak of shade thrown by tree or

wall, and let us watch the entrance of the Soo-chow-foo Canal. Numbers of boats are passing and repassing; some carry native merchants or brokers, who have been doing, or are going to do, business in Shanghai. In spite of the unpretending appearance of their comfortable boats, tens of thousands, in dollars, are the figures in which their inmates carry on their mercantile transactions. Smooth, silver-tongued Asiatics as they are—adepts at lying, chicanery, and duplicity—they are *commercially* honest nevertheless. Good faith in mercantile transactions they have found to be advantageous; and, being an eminently practical race, they adopt the advantageous virtue, and as a rule (not without exception) they practise it. But the same man who will, to the uttermost farthing, account to his brother-merchant for thousands, or assist him in a commercial crisis, will unblushingly defraud his Government by the grossest perjury, and subscribe remorselessly to a fund for procuring the heads of foreigners, or for destroying a European community with arsenic—Howqua and Canton to wit.

Besides these boats full of passengers, there are barges carrying the greatest amount of goods, and drawing the smallest conceivable amount of water, and some months hence they will reach the remotest points of the empire with their precious freight of tropical or European produce. Such is the scene on the Soochow Canal. Now look up the river, above the fleet of clippers, steamboats, and men-of-war, at that forest of masts like a mass of pine-trees stripped of branch and leaf; they are the native vessels of Shanghai. Only the pool below London Bridge can offer a similar sight. This

season, certainly, these vessels were unusually numerous. Fear of the allies, and the exaggerated reports of the "fierceness of the uncontrollable barbarians" commanding her Britannic Majesty's gunboats, have induced their owners to remain in port until peace was declared. Our news has evidently reached them, and the clang of gongs, much discordant music, and the noise of crackers, during the early watches of the past night, are demonstrations of John Chinaman's delight. He has the prospect of again being able to push into the outer waters, under the slender protection of the smooth-faced Queen of Heaven, who in her smoky little shrine under the junk's poop smiles approvingly on the poor junk-seaman's offering of a cup of weak tea, and a candle of pork fat painted bright vermilion.

All day, and all night long, according as the tide serves, these industrious fellows are moving up or down the stream, ever heaving in cables, or hoisting or lowering their quaint-cut sails. Hardy must they be, as well as industrious; they seem to have but one suit of clothes, and only a mat to sleep upon; their food is simply rice, and salt-fish enough to swear by, and their pay is very small; yet they face the tempests of a sea which is full of danger to our well-found barks and expert seamen. And then, after a long and toilsome voyage, the junk-sailor often endures sad cruelties from pirates, whose ships are ever prowling about in the neighbourhood of the centres of commerce. Still, in spite of typhoons and pirates, and the competition of European vessels that already have entered the field against them in the coasting trade, the native craft have

apparently in nowise diminished in number; and it is probable, indeed, that more junks sail to and from Shanghai at the present day than prior to the opening of the port to European commerce.

To complete the picture of Shanghai, I may add that the "bund" or quay which forms the river-face of the European quarter, together with the magnificent abodes of the merchants, and the no less imposing consulates, convey an idea of the wealth and prosperity of the community which is fully supported by their establishments, yachts, horses, and mode of living. Even the ministers of the Protestant churches, judging by their dwellings, partake of the general wellbeing of Shanghai. Rectors at home on £600 per annum live not in such houses; and poor curates in England, desirous of enjoying conjugal life, and bearing light to the benighted heathen, may, by enduring a considerable amount of heat and many smells, do far better in China (in a temporal point of view at least) than by slaving in the fever-haunted homes of the poor of an English city. The missionary in China may not expect, like the merchant, to make a rapid fortune and retire, but nevertheless it is a fine field for active sons of the Church. There is for them the prospect of promotion to vacant Eastern bishoprics; or, if gifted with more questionable zeal for the interests of their country and their religion, they may become political agents or Government interpreters.

He who at the latter part of July, at Shanghai, found anything to admire or write of, might boast of some energy and good health. Personal comfort was out of the question. The temperature for a week ranged from

86° to 98° Fahrenheit, and on deck, in the shade of our awnings, often stood at 104°. Sunstroke was frequent. Even the Chinese labourers employed in coaling the ship were more than once struck down; the men-of-war lost one or more men by this awful and sudden death; and as late in the afternoon as four P.M. a European policeman was killed by *coup-de-soleil*, through incautiously exposing himself on the bund. Every one on shore or on board found a perfect state of mental and bodily quietude actually necessary for the preservation of health; and we thought with a sigh of our brethren and kindred who, in as high a temperature, and almost as insupportable a climate—that of Oude or Rohilcund —were labouring for their country's honour in spite of sunstroke and disease.

At this season all the residents of Shanghai look painfully unhealthy, sallow, and listless. Those afloat, and not acclimatised, suffer much from boils, rush, whitlows, and similar ailments, by which strong constitutions seek relief when tried by great heats and pestiferous exhalations.

It is true that the mercantile community, feeding and living in an artificial state, cooled by punkahs, and supported by the consolation that in three or four years' time they would return to Europe or America with fortunes, may be able, with Spartan fortitude, to smile at such sufferings; we were otherwise situated, and can safely aver, after more than twenty years' wandering through one portion of the tropics or another, varying their heat occasionally with extremes of cold equally objectionable, that a hot calm off the Bonny River in

Africa, or the most sultry day Port-Royal or Saugor Island can produce, is Eden itself when compared with the foul stew called a hot day in Shanghai.

We acknowledge that, for seven months—ay, and if you please, eight months—the climate of Shanghai is delicious; the ice, the mutton, and the game, all are unexceptionable; but heaven preserve us from a third time visiting it in the dog-days of a Chinese summer!

Even the arrival of the English mail hardly served to rouse us from our lethargic discontent. Canton had become a horrid nightmare, and we were supremely indifferent as to the squabbles of Governor Bowring of Hong-Kong, and Mr Commissioner Hwang, Governor-General of the Quang-tung and Quang-si provinces. We could only listlessly glance over the terrible edicts they had each fulminated against the other. It was too much that hot day to attempt to read the tremendous despatches of a General in India, who, with five hundred sailors, soldiers, sepoys, and irregulars, had fought some twenty pitched battles with a numerous and desperate foe, whose flanks he enveloped, whose rear he threatened, whose columns he crushed, whose centre he pierced, whose line he enfiladed, rolled up, and came down upon perpendicularly! But we could read and re-read Sir Colin Campbell's clear and soldier-like reports, and hoped that, after all, the real fight was where the gallant Highlander led.

Shortly after the mail arrived, certain intelligence reached Shanghai from the north of China, that the Court of Pekin, acting in fulfilment of its contract, had already despatched two high officers to Shanghai to

arrange the terms of the future transit duties, and to revise the present tariff of taxes on foreign imports and exports. These functionaries could not arrive for some weeks; and, in the mean time, a good opportunity offered for the British Ambassador to proceed to Japan, and there secure to Great Britain the same privileges the Americans and Russians had of late been so active in compelling the Japanese Government to grant them.

Then, amid clouds of coal-dust and a tumult of baggage and live-stock, we prepare to bid Shanghai good-bye—not with a sigh, for who ever sighed or said they were sorry to quit any port in China? We can sympathise with the poor Highflyer's officers and men, who will, like those of the frigate Pique, swing daily round over one spot, until beef-bones, old boots, and broken bottles, form a dangerous shoal under their keel. The great to-morrow, on which we sail for Japan, will next dawn upon us. We go to bed, and dream, not "o' green fields," but of blue water and rattling sea-breezes, bearing us fresh health and strength.

The sun's rays were making a gallant fight with the malaria-laden yellow mists of the Yang-tse-Kiang Valley as we weighed for the once-fabled shores of Cipango. A sleepy display of ensigns from the men-of-war of different nations showed that their officers of the watch recognised the departure of the British Ambassador, the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, with an escort of two steam-frigates, a corvette, and a gunboat.* Down a winding

* The squadron of his Excellency consisted of the steam-frigate Retribution, 28 guns, Captain C. Barker; the steam-frigate Furious, 16 guns, Captain Sherard Osborn, C.B., on board of which ship his

reach, through miles of turbid water, and past fleets of junks and boats, we sped, until the flat shore dropped abruptly out of sight astern. Then a solitary rock or storm-swept islet appeared in sight, and as quickly disappeared, as we rattled on to the east at a pace which made the fisherman, in his rickety craft, drop his line, and watch us with face indicative of wild astonishment.

The reader knows assuredly what it is to suddenly come on sweet grass, and under cool trees, after a weary walk over a dusty highway. The same sensation of relief and pleasure was generally felt and expressed as we gradually left the muddy waters of a great river, which carries suspended in its stream, they say, earth enough, were it suddenly deposited, to form another England. The emerald green of the deeper portions of the China Sea steadily darkened in tint, until we again, on the morrow of our leaving Shanghai, saw dear mother Ocean clad in her glorious robes of blue!

> "Once more upon the waters! yet once more!
> And the waves bound beneath us, as a steed
> That knows his rider."

After months—nay, more than a year—pothering about in the narrow rivers, creeks, bays, and dirty water of China, it was pleasant again to see blue, bright-blue water, sparkling, laughing, and showing its white teeth under a rattling breeze; and oh! how cheering to look again upon a clear sky, and loose, fleecy, trade-wind clouds sailing athwart it! The charm of novelty, too, enhanced the feelings we experienced. Our cruise to

Excellency and suite were embarked; the gunboat Lee, Lieutenant Graham; and the yacht Emperor, Lieutenant Ward.

Japan was not avowedly one of discovery, but, after all, it was very like one. We were going upon a coast imperfectly surveyed. The only chart was by a German, Dr Siebold, who, whilst forming part of the Dutch commercial establishment closely imprisoned at Nangasaki, had compiled, from Japanese authorities, a very fair map and chart of the empire, though but poorly adapted for purposes of navigation. We were going to Yedo, the capital of Japan; though it was said we should not approach it, because one clause of the treaty of 1854 stipulated that British ships should only go to Nangasaki, at the one extreme of the empire, and Hakodadi at the other. Our Ambassador was to present a yacht from our Queen to an Emperor who we heard was, by the rules of his empire, never allowed to go beyond the walls of his palace; and then he was, by moral force, to be induced to make a fresh treaty, in the face of a clause in that same treaty which runs as follows: *7th Art.*—When this convention shall have been ratified; *no high officer coming to Japan shall alter it.*" So that we might say there were as many unknown rocks and quicksands ahead of the diplomatic portion of the expedition as there were in the track of the executive.

Information of the hydrography of Japan was most scant. Kæmpfer and Siebold, though trustworthy in all respects, were ignorant upon the point on which we as seamen most sought for information. The ponderous volumes of the American expedition to Japan had little new in them beyond information about the gulf of Yedo. Had Marco Polo, in August 1858, sprung from his grave, it is true that he might have been pleased to

find that we did not, like his foolish countrymen, smile with incredulity at his wondrous tale of Zipangu or Cipango, but he would have been much astonished to find that, after a lapse of five centuries and a half, Europe knew very little more about Japan than he did when, in the year 1295, he pointed to the eastern margin of the Yellow Sea, and said; "There was a great island there named Zipangu," peopled by a highly civilised and wealthy race, who had bravely rolled back the tide of Tartar conquest in the days of Kublai Khan.

An eminent American, who goes off occasionally on the wings of that dreadful eagle with its claws armed with the lightning, and which is ever soaring over the Rocky Mountains, or sweeping across the western waters, &c. &c., seems to insist that it is the high mission of the United States to do chaperon to Japan, and introduce her to the ken of the western world, all because Christopher Columbus—who, we maintain, was *not* the first American citizen, and cared no more for the Declaration of Independence than he did for General Washington—discovered the American continent in endeavouring to reach that Cathay and Zipangu of which Marco Polo had written, but in which Columbus had alone the wit in after years to believe. However that may be, it is sincerely to be desired that, if she believes in her mission, the United States may go earnestly about it, and send her commodores, flag-officers, consuls, missionaries, and envoys to do the work steadily and well; and when Congress, revelling in surplus revenue, liberally pays the expense of publishing their servants' journals, they had best be tied down to write of Japan only, and not

wander loosely to Singapore, Hong-Kong, the Cape of Good Hope, and St Helena, for the sole purpose of abusing a colonial system which still keeps Great Britain a neck and shoulders ahead of the whole world, and enables us to care but little what the opinion of the United States may be as to how we treated Napoleon Buonaparte.

CHAPTER II.

THE valley of deep water, four hundred and fifty miles in a direct line from the shores of China to those of Japan, delightful though it was to us river-sick seamen, is at present a very lonely sea. The interdiction of foreign trade by the Emperors of Japan included China as well as Europe, and during the centuries in which the flag of Holland alone crossed the sea we were traversing, China was only allowed to send thirteen junks annually to and from Nangasaki. We therefore saw no vessel in our track; and it was generally remarked that, excepting great numbers of flying-fish, there was a dearth of animal life, whether fish or bird, where, from our proximity to land, it would have been natural it should be the reverse.

On the afternoon of the 2d August 1858 we reached a group of rocky but picturesque islets, the outposts in this direction of the Japanese empire—Miaco-Sima, or the "Asses' Ears," so named because their peaks run up in a manner not unlike the ears of that animal. Their coasts are bold and craggy, lashed by the rollers of a wild though narrow sea, whose spray has left a mark far up the polished wave-worn sides; yet there was green grass and stout pine-tree immediately above the wash of the sea, and vegetation made a bold fight to reach the sum-

mits of the craggy peaks. "How different from Chinese scenery!" we naturally exclaimed, as our good ship sped past Miaco-Sima, and all declared themselves perfectly satisfied with this first instalment of Japan: it was evident we were determined to be pleased.

The mountains of Kiu-Siu Island, on which the city of Nangasaki is situated, were next to rise upon the eastern horizon. The night proved dark and gloomy, and as in the middle watch the bold coasts of Gotto Island were seen to the northward, warning us that we were approaching Japan faster than was prudent, in spite of our anxiety to be quickly into port the speed had to be very much reduced. Day-dawn showed this to have been prudent, for the land about Cape Nomo, the southern entrance of the bay leading to Nangasaki, was on our starboard bow; and thence, stretching far away to our left, rose peak, mountain, and table-land, until lost in the distance. Away to the north, a channel dotted with islets was seen between Gotto and Kiu-Siu. It led to Hirando, or Firando, that port so well known to European mariners of centuries now long gone by, when Spaniards and Portuguese, Dutchmen and English, were struggling for a footing in Japan, and each doing his best to have his brother Christian exterminated — how they eventually succeeded, and the Dutchman turned up the trump-card, we will hereafter relate. For the present, we must go at full speed for a mark in the land ahead, which, the charts tell us, leads us to our haven.

For a while heavy mists swept over land and sea, and we could only see a mile or so ahead. It was very tan-

talising. Those who had not witnessed day-dawn would not believe we had seen Japan, and growled out complaints of the nuisance, to use a seaman's phrase, of "being jammed in a fog off our port." The consolation was, that possibly the sun would master the fog; and presently there was a play of light along the surface of the sea; the hulls of our vessels came out sharp and clear. Then the forms of Japanese junks were seen; presently their sails and masts showed;—the fog was lifting, breaking, and dispersing. Down the mountains of Kiu-Siu rolled masses of cloud; out of every vale and valley came sweeping down dense mists, wrathful at the enemy that was expelling them. Poor cloudland fought at a disadvantage with the lusty youth of a morning sun;—his fierce glance pierced her densest array, and, in sullen showers and flying squalls of wind, night and darkness passed away; whilst day, bright and beaming, burst fairly upon us with a shout of welcome. It was a glorious sight—mountain and plain, valley and islet, clothed with vegetation, or waving with trees and studded with villages—blue sea for a foreground, crisped with the breeze, and calm spots with sandy bays, in amongst islands dotted with fishing-boats and native junks. We must not attempt it, for pen or pencil could never reproduce such a picture.

Early in the forenoon, H.M.S. Furious was entering the charming series of channels leading through islands to Nangasaki. Cape Nomo was now hidden from view, whilst on either hand lay the lovely spots known by the native names of Iwosima and Kamino-sima, "Sima" being Japanese for island. They looked like pieces of

land detached from the best parts of the south coast of England, and it is impossible, we believe, to pay them a greater compliment. Their outline was marked and picturesque, clothed, wherever a tree could hang or find holding-ground, with the handsome pine peculiar to Japan. Villages and richly cultivated gardens nestled in every nook, and flowers, as well as fruit-trees, were plentiful.

To our eyes, the multitude of guns and extraordinary number of batteries which covered every landing-place, or surmounted every height, on these islands, did not enhance their beauty; and we regretted to see the men entering the batteries as we approached. We suspected then, what afterwards proved to be the case, that our Transatlantic friends had taken great care to work upon the fears of the Japanese, by spreading some marvellous tales of what we Britishers had done in China, and intended to do to them. The garrisons of the batteries, however, appeared desirous only of showing how prepared they were; and having gone to their guns, quietly sat down to smoke their pipes, while the officers, seated on the parapets, gracefully fanned themselves. Yet it will be well for all the world that the Japanese are jealous of their liberty; and that its people will, if need should arise, gallantly defend the beautiful land God has given them.

It would be hazardous to say how many guns are mounted on the islands and points commanding the approach to Nangasaki: some of them may be of wood—merely *quakers;* but we saw hundreds that decidedly were not. The majority were of brass, some of iron, all

mounted on wheeled carriages; and they seemed, from the gun-gear about them, well found in stores, and efficient. The batteries were very solid, and there was a queer mixture of European and Japanese ideas in their construction—for although the lower portions would have stood a great deal of hammering from an enemy, the unfortunate gunners would have been too much exposed to have stood long to their guns.

Our attention was now called from the land to a number of government boats, which were dotted about the water ahead of us: they were always in pairs, one, doubtless, *selon les règles*, watching the other. It was desirable to have no communication with these guard-boats—for such we easily recognised them to be—lest they should hand us the copy of some British Treaty or Convention, by which some one had pledged Her Most Gracious Majesty's subjects not to do this, or not to do that. We happened to have found in an old book—the only old thing, except old port, that we ever liked—a Treaty of Peace and Amity between the Emperor of Japan and James the First of Great Britain, dated as far back as the year of grace 1613. By it, right of intercourse, commerce, and suchlike, was secured to us for ever; and as only two centuries and a half had elapsed—a mere flea-bite in the records of such countries as Japan and China—it seemed natural we should still adhere to the privileges secured by bold Captain Saris, of the good ship Clove of London, belonging unto the Honourable and Worshipful Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies—and ignore the folly of those who, in later years, had lost the birthright their ancestors

had won for them. In happy assumed ignorance of any treaties made to the contrary, we steamed on, pretending to be perfectly unconscious of the existence of guard-boats and officials. However, it was soon very evident that if they could not stop us, it was quite as much as their lives were worth not to be able to report correctly upon who or what we were. Just as we had put the helm hard down to escape one pair of boats, two others skilfully tumbled into the wash of our paddle-wheels, and the most expeditious short-hand writers at home could not have made their quills fly faster than did these Japanese in noting down facts that one of their party, who stood on tiptoe to peer into the ports, shouted out for their information. Next day we learned that the spies had given a very excellent account of H.M.S. Furious, and had only missed one gun in the list of her armament.

Past these impediments, and avoiding some sunken rocks which lie in the channel, the ship appeared to be running up against the shores of Kiu-Siu, which rose boldly ahead until they terminated in the cloud-capped Peaks of Hi-kosan and Tarutagama. Was it that the Furious was tired of buffeting the wide sea, and had determined, like the Bounty of Otaheitian fame, to place herself in one of the lovely nooks ahead? No: the channel will show out presently; the beautiful but sadly notorious island of Takaboko bars the view of the entrance to the inner harbour.

Lovely, yet wicked Takaboko—better known as the Papenberg—how calm and smiling it looked down upon our wooden home as we swept past, almost touching it!

It so peaceful, so full of repose—we all throb and noise, routine and formality! There, in that pretty nook, we should, we felt assuredly, find that rest, that peace which all men crave for, but so seldom find! "A battery in amongst those trees! sir," said the shrill voice of the signal midshipman, and "four brass guns in it." Brass guns and batteries in such an Eden! what barbarism! We thought with a sigh of an equally barbarous act perpetrated by those gallant Frenchmen, who had planted Vauban batteries among the bread-fruit and palm-trees of sweet Otaheite—the only spot that excelled the scene of beauty which now surrounded us.

Beautiful Papenberg! Yet, if history spoke true, deeds horrid enough for it to have been for ever blighted by God's wrath had been perpetrated there during the persecutions of the Christians in the seventeenth century. It was the Golgotha of the many martyrs to the Roman Catholic faith. There by day and by night its steep cliffs had rung with the agonised shriek of strong men, or the wail of women and children, launched to rest, after torture, in the deep waters around the island. If Jesuit records are to be believed, the fortitude and virtue exhibited by their Japanese converts in those sad hours of affliction have not been excelled in any part of the world since religion gave another plea to man to destroy his fellow-creature; and may it not be that the beauty with which nature now adorns that rock of sorrows is her halo of glory around a spot rendered holy by the sufferings, doubtless, of many that were brave and good? Yes! let us think so, and forget the envy, hatred, and malice which once raged rampant there.

Let us forget its past history, and look at that Japanese Hebe who stands on the pathway up the face of the Papenberg, and stares at the frigate sweeping past under her feet. Unconscious of the admiration and the telescopes which are directed at her, gentle heathen! of course she is perfectly ignorant of all the compliments her grace and neatness are calling forth; but she puts up her hand and rearranges the brilliant red flowers in her jetty hair. Now she laughs, and, throwing her head aside archly, displays such a glittering set of white teeth! That angel of the Papenberg redeems all the blemishes we might have seen in it; and, like the lovely daughter in the legend of an Ogre's castle, shall she not perfectly reconcile all true knights to the crimes of the remorseless giants who of old held their sway there?

"Hard a-starboard, sir!" exclaims our Palinurus; and as the spokes of the wheel fly round, the ship turns sharply into the fine channel of water leading up to Nangasaki. That city faced us, spread round the base of a hill at the further end of the harbour, and having immediately in front of it a rude collection of hybrid European houses, with a flagstaff on the artificial island of Decima, whereon the Japanese had held the Dutchmen voluntary prisoners ever since the expulsion of the Portuguese in 1613. There for centuries had the poor Dutchmen endured insult, restraint, and contumely, rather than forego certain advantages in carrying out Japanese copper and retailing it to Europeans at an enormous profit. Long-suffering and enduring vendors of strong Dutch cheese, Zealand butter, and pleasant schnapps, relief came at last!

The Dame Partingtons at home trundled their mops in the face of Holy Mother "Russia," because she felt her mission called her to trounce the Turk and take Constantinople in 1854. The Japanese Emperor was astonished to find the belligerents playing a game of hide-and-seek in the many bays and harbours of his empire, and wisely concluded that the orthodox old lady of Moscow, whose dominions approached suspiciously close to Japan, might one day think it as Christian-like to rob a Buddhist as a Mohammedan neighbour. Partly through fear, partly through pressure cleverly applied by Yankees and Dutchmen, he wisely departed from the ancient laws of his realm, and sought for aid and protection where, strangely enough, he can only find them, in the friendship of four or five nations who cordially dislike and are jealous of each other. But a truce to politics for a time—the ambition of men or nations, the follies of the Christian and the Heathen, may be studied elsewhere. Let us satisfy ourselves with simply inhaling healthful pleasure from the contemplation of the loveliness nature has spread over the harbour of Nangasaki.

A long fiord of blue water stretches two miles inland between sloping hills which spring from the sea with a bold, rocky escarpment, and then roll gently back, rising to an altitude of a thousand feet or so; and these are overlooked by still more lofty giants—every mountain-side covered with all that can gladden a landscape, and down every ravine gladsome streams rushing on to the sea. Here a village, there a quaint bark anchored in a sandy cove; now an official abode with square-cut ter-

race and upright fence, so properly stiff, starched, and queer, you felt sure you had only to knock and that one of the Barnacles of a public office would appear; then, nestling in the midst of green trees and flowery gardens, were the prettiest chalets seen out of Switzerland; children, with no clothes at all, rolling on the grass, or tumbling in and out of the water; whilst their respected parents, with but few habiliments to incommode them, gravely waved their fans, or sat gazing upon the newly-arrived vessels. Oh! it was a goodly sight; but we were all in the mood to be pleased; and had the sky been less clear, the air less bracing, and the climate as bad as that of China, we should assuredly still have admired it.

In former days, a chain of guard-boats used to extend across the gate of this Japanese paradise. One of our men-of-war, during the Russian war, nearly paddled over them; and we too, it had been determined, were not to be stopped by them. The Japanese officers of the present day are far wiser in their generation than those who, when the frigate of Captain Sir Israel Pellew forced her way into the harbour during the French war, disembowelled themselves rather than survive the disgrace. We found all the boats removed and made fast in by the shore. One officer more anxious than the rest to do his duty, or, Asiatic like, desirous of ascertaining to what lengths he might go, stood up in his boat as we came abreast of him, and mildly gesticulated with his fan (the everlasting emblem of office in Japan) for us to go back again! We would fain not have seen it; but of course the officious signalman immediately reported that there

was a Japanese officer waving. A spy-glass was brought steadily to bear on him; the wretch was about fifty yards off; the action of the fan became at once less violent, then irregular, as if the waver of the fan was in a dilemma; then a spasmodic jerk; the glass was kept steadily on the wretch (we feared lest the Ambassador should see him and cry halt!)—there was a pause, another flutter—hurrah! he shut up his fan, and retired under his awning, beaten. He had only to perform Haki-kari, or disembowelment; and we proceeded, giving the officious signalman orders not to make nonsensical reports of every Japanese who chose to fan himself!

We soon anchored off Nangasaki, close to a gallant bark from Holland—just such a ship as should always sail from stout Amsterdam; none of your fly-away new-fangled vessels, lean as greyhounds and quite as fast, but full, round, and frau-like—exactly the craft, in short, that a vessel rejoicing in the name of the Zeevaart ought to be. Beside her rode *gaily*, at her anchors—which, with every disposition to be gallant to ships and ladies, we cannot say the Zeevaart did—a Japanese screw schooner, under the simple imperial flag, a red ball on a white ground. She had been purchased from the Dutch, for some fabulous sum in copper bars, unless rumour belied the honest burghers of Decima; but all her officers and men were now natives, from the engineer to the captain; and from what we saw of their exercise aloft, and what we heard from their Dutch naval instructors, our impression was very favourable to the prospect of the Japanese shortly being again the able and skilful seamen they were three centuries ago, when they used

to navigate their frail native craft as far as the ports of Indostan.

An hour passed—no officials came near us. The native boats, before alluded to, had followed the ship, and now hung listlessly about her. The officers in them were evidently very inquisitive; but as we did not invite their approach, they still kept aloof. The Dutchmen on shore seemed equally shy. Some half-dozen sailors, in red shirts, lolled about the landing-place of Decima; still Decima showed no other sign of vitality, and smoke rose as steadily from the Dutch skipper's pipe as he leant over the rail of his argosy and peered at us, as it would have done in the sleepiest landscape in watery Holland. It suddenly struck us that Decima had gone to bed, and that here, as in Batavia, the community dine about noon, and after dinner all the Mynheers, Fraus, and Frauleins retire to rest, rising from their second sleep about four or five o'clock in the afternoon. We were, we soon ascertained, right in our suspicions; so an officer was sent on shore, remorselessly to stir up the sleeping burghers of Decima with the information of the arrival of his Excellency the British Ambassador.

There was soon a general flurry, for the Japanese appeared to have been waiting for their Dutch friends to awake, to inquire if we might be visited. Japanese officials, with pockets full of paper, pens, and ink, hurried off—jolly good-natured-looking fellows, always ready to laugh, and in appearance resembling more the Kanaka races of the South Sea Islands than the Chinese we had left behind us. Their dress, in some respects, was Chinese, and their language sounded very like a mixture

of the discordancy of that most discordant of languages, and the soft liquid sounds of the Kanaka tongue. And how they interrogated us!—what was the ship's name, our name, the Ambassador's titles—everybody's name and age—everybody's rank and business—what did we want—whither were we going—whence did we come—how many ships were coming—where was our Admiral? Indeed, a Russian customhouse agent, or a British census paper, could not have put more astounding questions, whether in number or nature, than did these Nangasaki reporters. We were as patient as naval officers, or angels, may usually be supposed to be under such circumstances;—answered all their questions—allowed them to see, touch, smell, and hear everything, except the British Ambassador, who was in his cabin—and then dismissed them with a glass of sherry and a biscuit. I and the first-lieutenant had hardly congratulated ourselves that, at any rate, that portion of the pleasure of visiting Japan was over, when another boatful of reporters arrived, tumbled up the ladder, were very well-behaved, but asked exactly the same questions, and went exactly through the same farce as the first party had done. They were, we learnt, duplicate reporters, whose statements served to check and correct those of the first set of inquirers.

Directly they left us, a two-sworded official arrived—two swords in Japan, like two epaulettes in Europe, indicate an officer of some standing. He introduced himself through a Japanese interpreter, who spoke English remarkably well, as "a chief officer," who had an official communication to make. Would he sit down—

would he be pleased to unbosom himself? Could he not see the Ambassador? Impossible! What! "a chief officer" communicate with an ambassador! We were truly horrified. The chief officer must be simply insane: did he couple the representative of the majesty of Great Britain with a mere Superintendent of trade? The chief officer apologised; he was very properly shocked at the proposition that he had made; he saw his error, and, what was more to our purpose, the Ambassador assumed a size and importance in his eyes which it would have been difficult to have realised. The "chief officer" then put his questions—Did Lord Elgin intend to call upon the Governor of Nangasaki? No; he had not time to do so. Did he expect the Governor to wait upon him? The Governor could please himself—the Ambassador would receive him if he came. If the Lieutenant-Governor called on Lord Elgin, would his Excellency receive him? Yes.—This was all the chief officer had to say; his mission was a special one. He begged to wish us good-morning, merely adding that the Governor of Nangasaki hoped the Ambassador would kindly accept a small present which would shortly be sent.

The present arrived shortly afterwards—a stout cob-built pig of three hundredweight; and such a quantity of pumpkins! It looked at first very like a joke; indeed, the infernal music of an animal never seen alive on board a man-of-war, added to the comicality of the affair; but the fact is, that the Japanese are a sober-minded, thrifty people, and nothing evinces it better than the following interesting custom, followed in this as in all other cases:—Whenever a Japanese makes a present, whatever the

rank of the parties or the value of the gift may be, the donor encloses in an envelope, bearing his name and compliments, a small piece of dried salt-fish, emblematical of the poverty of their ancestors, and of the thrift whereby their present affluence has been attained; and this is often wrapped in a piece of paper, on which is written the following favourite sentence, "Happy those who never depart from the wisdom of their ancestors," —a Confucian as well as Protectionist doctrine, the widespread faith in which, in this remote part of the world, may be possibly confirmatory and consolatory to some at home who will not believe that free trade and repeal of corn-laws can be beneficial to their country.

After this little episode of pig, pumpkin, and salt-fish, the Dutch gentlemen belonging to the factory turned up. The secretary of the Dutch superintendent of trade came, accompanied by two naval officers, instructors lent by the Government of Holland to teach the Japanese the arts of navigation, gunnery, and nautical science generally. The former had to explain that the superintendent, Mr Donker Curtius, was absent on public business, and the latter told us that their senior officer or commandant was sick; but they had a good deal of interesting information to give, which was to the following effect:—

The superintendent of the factory, Mr Donker Curtius, had been in Yedo during the past six months, as well as Mr Harris, the American Consul-General; they had both been especially ordered to the capital. Alarmed by the rumours of the Allied operations against China, the Japanese Government was at first very fair spoken upon the subjects of granting a treaty to Holland and

America, opening her commerce and ports to them, admitting free intercourse with the people, and practising religious toleration. At one time the 14th April had been agreed upon as the day for the final signature of a treaty; then it was postponed; then rumours were spread of the priesthood, the Spiritual Emperor, and certain independent nobles, having opposed insurmountable obstacles to any concession. The Tai-koon, or Temporal Emperor, as well as the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Prince of Bitsu, appeared well aware of the necessity for some arrangement being made to pacify the European desire for trade with Japan; but they doubtless delayed as long as they could, to see the issue of our efforts to open up China before they yielded themselves; and at last, although always most kindly treated and generously lodged, Mr Curtius and Mr Harris were sent back to their respective posts, as empty-handed as they went to Yedo. Mr Harris, having a shorter distance to go, was doubtless by this time in Simoda, but Mr Donker Curtius, when last heard of, was still on the road, and could not arrive for a week or so.

This news, at the first glance, looked unpromising: but there was this one point very certain, that if the Japanese intended to be guided as to their future policy by the concessions England and France should wring from China, Lord Elgin could show that the Court of Pekin had yielded all, and more than was expected; and Japan, at any rate, was saved the humiliation of being the first to concede the point of the admission of strangers to her capital, and intercourse with European nations on terms of perfect equality.

It seemed likely that the Americans would turn our operations to account by working on the fears of the Japanese; for the United States steamer Powhattan, bearing the flag of Flag-officer Tattnal,* had gone direct from the Gulf of Pecheli to Nangasaki, bearing the news of our success, and spreading tales of our numbers and intentions, which caused no small alarm amongst a people who for twelve months had been kept in a state of excitement by rumours of our doings in their neighbourhood.

* Flag-officer was then the official designation of the American naval Commander-in-Chief. They found Commodore an inconvenient title, and have not as yet brought themselves to use the term Admiral.

CHAPTER III.

Passing showers of rain, which set in towards evening, did not deter our officers and many of the Earl of Elgin's staff from visiting Decima and Nangasaki.* They returned delighted with the cleanliness and order of the towns, the civility of the people, and, better still, the absence of all those unmentionable smells which haunt the visitor on the shores of the neighbouring continent of China. About sundown the boom of three heavy guns twice repeated rolled from seaward over the hills around our anchorage; presently the same sounds came apparently from some nearer point; the battery above the town next took up the tune, and then the reports were heard again and again until lost in the distance. When we inquired what all this noise was about, a Japanese interpreter informed us that two European sail had appeared in sight of the lookouts, and that these guns were signalising the fact throughout the interior up to Miaco, where the spiritual Emperor resides. Such a method, in the absence of electricity, is a rapid mode of signalising; but the expense must be enormous, and can only be endured by a naturally thrifty government,

* We have preferred to spell Nangasaki thus, because the *g* in Japan is usually pronounced like *ng*.

through excessive jealousy and anxiety to know of the movements of Europeans. Next day the arrival of the naval Commander-in-chief, Admiral Sir Michael Seymour, in the Calcutta, towed by the Inflexible, Captain Brooker, proved that the Japanese lookout-men's eyes were as correct as they were keen.

It was early morning when we landed at Decima; and in justice to the Dutch residents, whose postprandial somnolence we have already mentioned, it must be owned that they had risen with the lark, as men should who dine when the sun is in the zenith. Decima, the foreign quarter of Nangasaki, is an island, and dear old Kæmpfer, the most charming of Dutch writers upon Japan, compares it in form to an outspread fan without a handle. Its length cannot be much more than five or six hundred yards, and the settlement consists of one street of that extent, intersected at its centre by a short one leading to the only bridge which spans the canal that separates the once hated Christians from the good folks of Nangasaki. Along this street are the houses of the Dutch residents, and their Japanese agents and retainers, besides a number of native stores filled with articles of Japanese manufacture, and called by the name of the Dutch Bazaar. Decima and the residents were all awake and stirring; a few porters were carrying bales of imported produce; a store here and there was open, and boxes or packages were being tumbled about as if some commercial movement was taking place; but Decima, wide-awake and stirring, had none of the rush and throb of buyers and sellers, such as we had seen at the ports of China frequented by European merchants. How

changed the scene will be, one voluntarily exclaimed, a few years hence, when Cockney, Scot, and New-Yorker shall be competing who can make money fastest, or be the quickest to improve the Japanese off the face of the earth! Whatever the future Decima may be, Decima as we found it was a solemn-looking, weird-like place, as if bearing the impress of its past strange history, and as if haunted by the memory of the Portuguese and Dutchmen, whose jail it had been. It seemed to say to you, "Yes! here the contemned Pagan crushed and exterminated the professors and believers in your faith, oh Christian, and tempted with gold these poor Dutchmen to commit apostasy, and for its sake they did it!" Even the very pavement bears witness to what depths of degradation nations will stoop to preserve a base commercial or political advantage; and without any wish to throw stones at our Protestant neighbours, it would be well if all the reclamations against the Dutch in Japan, by the Roman Catholic writers, could be gainsaid. Could one forget, standing on Decima, that they tortured the Christians instead of merely expelling them the country, one's sympathies would all be with the Japanese.

What could be more noble, more self-denying and energetic, than the course these Asiatics pursued, when they found their independence as a free state was imperiled by the adoption of the Romish faith of those days? The European discoverers of this Japan found its merchants trading to every part of the East Indies, and they had from the earliest times been in intimate commercial relation with China, sometimes dependent upon her, at other times fiercely assailing her. Their

country could not produce many of the luxuries, hardly the necessaries of life, and necessity as well as interest urged the Japanese trader, in his frail bark, to very distant ports. Yet when it was deemed requisite by their Emperor, the sacrifice was made—all foreign trade ceased—Japan recoiled from connection with every nation, and by dint of great exertions not only vigorously carried out this system, but, judging by the present happy and contented condition of her people, has had no reason to regret it. "Not a Christian shall remain in Japan," said the edict; and it was a sort of compromise when the Emperor Yeye Mitsu, after driving European priests from his dominions, putting their converts to death, and expelling the Spaniards, caused a heap of rubbish to be piled up in shoal-water off the town of Nangasaki, and in 1635 ordered the Portuguese to confine themselves to *that*, the present Decima.

Before this time these foreigners had been at liberty to wander about and establish themselves where they pleased on the shores of Kiu-Siu. On Decima the Portuguese remained a short time, subjected to every degradation, instigated, they declared, in a great measure by the Dutch, who then were located at Firando. First their wives and children were banished to Macao; then they were compelled to abstain from the public services of their Church; and, lastly, they were ordered to tread upon the emblem of their faith. Instead of flying the country, they raised a rebellion; and under the bloody ruins of Simbarra, a city a short distance to the southward, the Portuguese, their converts, and priests, found a common grave; the Dutch assisting in what the

Church of Rome dignifies with the title of martyrdom, but which was nothing more than the bloody penalty of a religious insurrection.

This happened in 1640. Two short years afterwards, the Dutch, at Firando (for we English had voluntarily withdrawn, in consequence of difficulties arising from our Great Rebellion and other causes), were peremptorily ordered to quit their factory, to erase the date of its erection from the portals, and proceed to Decima. "You will cease to observe the Sabbath," said the Japanese mandate; "and on all other points be guided by the instructions you will receive from the Lords of Firando!" The poor Dutchmen went tamely to their jail; and though the most enterprising seamen of that day—though their stout burghers had shaken off the strong grip of Spain—still Japanese gold kobangs, and Japanese copper bars, reconciled them to the contumely they must endure, if they desired to share in those good things; and they bore it for two centuries with all the phlegm and patience of their race. And now, when Americans, Russians, and British came to awaken them and their jailers to the necessities and obligations of 1858, they have roused up, looking rather cross, as if we had much better have let things be.

The sun, however, was rising too fast over the Peak of Hi-kosan, giving already an earnest of a considerably hot day, for us to stand longer ruminating on the past or present of Decima.

. . . . . .

Wood enters largely into the construction of all Japanese dwellings: those in Decima are no exception

to the rule; but the European houses, though probably very comfortable, are, without exception, formed on the ugliest models Holland ever produced. I need not describe them. The cottages in a box of Nuremberg wooden toys represent them exactly; small black cubes of wood, four white windows in front, as many behind, and a red door. It is, therefore, to the credit of the taste of the natives resident in Decima, that they appear in no way to have copied the Dutch mode of house-building, but have adhered faithfully to their own ideas of the comfortable—which seemed to be comprised under the two sound conditions of good ventilation and plenty of light.

A Japanese house consists of a ground-floor and top-storey. The front and back of the basement can be removed at pleasure, leaving it quite open, through the premises, for air and light, except where the posts supporting the first floor intervene. Usually the front panels only are removed during the daytime, and the back panels, formed of a light, graceful, wood framework covered with translucent paper, are left to screen the cooking departments and back premises. The floor of the basement is raised about three feet above the level of the ground, and is neatly boarded, and then laid over with a series of stuffed grass mats, on which the inmates walk, sit, feed, and sleep. If it is a shop, the arrangements are still the same, except that the boxes or drawers containing the goods are arranged on shelves on either side, and the merchant and purchasers in their *socks*—for all shoes and boots are carefully put off on these mats—sit on the floor to discuss prices and qualities. The storey overhead serves as a place of abode for

their wives and families, and those we visited are, in height and ventilation and cleanliness, vastly superior to the majority of up-stairs rooms in the East.

There was hardly a house in Nangasaki that had not some sort of garden attached to it, and all were well and tastefully kept; but the most striking thing in this city (and it was generally observed by all of us in Japan) was that every man, woman, and child looked happy and contented! There was an exception to the rule—a number of unfortunate solemnities who were in charge of the gateway leading from Decima to Nangasaki; and they were evidently bored to death. Poor scribes! they had to keep notes of everything, animate and inanimate, that went in or out of that solitary outlet to Japan! Every one else met us with a friendly smile, or a good-natured look of amazement at either our brilliant buttons, our shining boots, or some other phenomenon exhibited in the gorgeous attire of a British naval officer. The labouring portion of the male population decidedly took little anxious care for their raiment, a piece of cotton cloth, a yard long and six inches wide, constituting their general attire; and many of the children might have just escaped from Eden, so innocent were they of any clothing. Laughing and coaxing, they came unhesitatingly up to us, begging, in their naturally pretty way, for buttons, "Cassi button?" "Cassi button?" It was irresistible, and we gave all we could spare; but what those little urchins were going to do with buttons, seeing they had neither rag nor ornament upon them, was a puzzle to us. The grown-up women were modestly attired in dark-coloured garments, their beautiful hair

neatly dressed, and, but that their nails were dyed, there was a general appearance of beauty about them, combined with much grace in the figures of the younger ones. The Japanese officials and gentry were very well dressed, and in their attire displayed considerable dandyism, according to their own fashion, But in their dress, as well as in their houses, in Japan, we noticed the prevalence of sombre colours, and the absence of that vulgar colouring and tinsel-work so common in China. Here the out-door dress of the ladies, and that of the poor girls at the tea-gardens, and the wives of the tradespeople, was quiet in colour, however fine the texture might be; and amongst the official dresses of the officers, black, dark blue, and black and white patterns, were the most general. Their houses and temples are likewise painted less gaudily than elsewhere in the East, and there was far less gilding about them. This peculiarity in Japanese taste was one of the first impressions received on our visiting Japan, and, like many first impressions, proved to be correct.

We found the Dutch bazaar at Decima filled with porcelain and lacker-ware in a thousand tasteful forms; we had fancied ourselves perfectly *blasé* about all "curiosities," but such impenetrability gave way rapidly with the temptation before us. The first feeling was a desire to buy up everything, where all was so pretty. Tables, curiously inlaid with mother-of-pearl—representations of birds and animals, which our papier-maché manufacturers, or those of France, would give anything to be able to imitate—cabinets, on which golden fish or tortoise stood out in most truthful relief—wonderful little gems in ivory,

bone, or wood, fifty times more replete with originality, skill, and wit than anything China ever produced—porcelain so delicate, that you were almost afraid to touch it—in short, a child in a pastrycook's shop never ran from sweet to sweet more perplexed to know which to invest in, than we that morning in Decima bazaar!

We were fast approaching the bottom of a very modest purse, and, in exultation at our purchases, remarked to a Dutch understrapper, who happened to be near, that the articles were most beautiful. "Most beautifuls," he repeated; "the Dotch bazaar has all the beautifuls things—you will find noting in the Roshian bazaar." Here he smiled with supreme contempt—did this inhabitant of Decima, adding scornfully, "Roshian bazaar! there is notings beautifuls in that bazaar."

We instantly resolved to go there (so naturally perverse is man), but inquired of our friend whether the bazaar to which he alluded was for the sale of Russian produce or manufacture?

"Nay, nay," said my scornful Hollander; "they have notings Roshian in it—only they frightened the Japanese, to make them open another place in which tings might be bought, and had it called a Roshian bazaar."

"They have been much about Japan of late?" I remarked.

"Yah! very moch, and more by-and-by." Then he wagged his head and sighed, evidently seeing sad days in store for Japan and Dutch merchants at Decima.

Why is it, we thought, as we hurried off into Nangasaki, that Russia is always thus the *bête noir* of every man, except Monsieur le Comte de Morny?

Through a gateway we entered the Russian bazaar; it was situated close to the water-side, and consisted of an enclosed quadrangle, about an acre in extent, having on three sides booths, in which a profusion of articles were exhibited for sale—much of the same sort we had seen in Decima, but perhaps not quite so good, though in greater variety. A rush of officers from the men-of-war in port now took place—each stall was speedily besieged with eager faces; and eager voices, in good round Saxon, were clamouring to know the price of everything, and to be served immediately. The Japanese tradesmen showed wonderful self-possession and commercial acumen under this sudden onslaught of purchasers. A Chinaman would have sat down sulkily, smoked his pipe, and given short answers to be rid of such a crowd of purchasers. The Japanese called for more aid, and then briskly rushed about the booth, giving information, praised his wares, packed up and despatched his goods expeditiously, and laughed and smiled all the while, as if the whole thing was an admirable joke. They were quite as ready to sell as we were to buy, and showed a degree of handiness, intelligence, and good arrangement, which augured well for their management of commercial transactions upon a more extensive scale.

By the old laws of the Japanese Empire, the exportation of their currency, whether gold, silver, or copper, is strictly prohibited, and to insure it, no European is allowed to possess native coin. The difficulty, therefore, of purchasing, would be great upon that ground alone; but in addition to this rule, another exists, by which the natives are forbidden to receive our coins either. For a

while, it seemed there must be a dead-lock in the market; but it was explained to us that a government bank existed in the bazaar, where we could obtain paper currency (available only in Nangasaki) in exchange for our dollars. From that bank we came out with bundles of very simple-looking strips of card-board covered with cabalistic signs, indicative of their value, in lieu of the silver we had given—a favour for which the Government charged us six per cent! With these Japanese bank-notes we paid the tradesmen, whom no amount of persuasion could induce to receive silver; and they again, poor fellows, had to present them at the bank, and receive the amount in the metallic currency of the country, paying of course a handsome tax for the honour of selling to the foreigners. The purpose of this round-about mode of trading was, we were told, to prevent any foreign coin being found in the possession of a native. Apart from this little restriction upon the exchange, there was no difficulty in making purchases; and it was very remarkable that in this country, which for two centuries had declared that it required no foreign commerce, and was totally indifferent either to the products or money of other nations, nearly every article exposed in this Russian bazaar was the manufacture of the dependants of the prince upon whose territory Nangasaki was situated, and proved how great was the natural commercial and money-making genius of the people. We were then assured, and subsequent information confirmed the statement, that nearly all the independent princes emulate each other in manufacturing, or rather imitating, every European article that can

be copied, and then send their surplus specimens to be sold throughout the empire.

At one stall we found microscopes, telescopes, sun-dials, rules, scales, clocks, knives, spoons, glass, beads, trinkets, and mirrors—all of native make upon European models—and the prices were so ridiculously small, that even at the lowest estimate of the value of labour it was a puzzle how any profit could be realised upon the articles. The microscopes were very neat, and intended to be carried in the pocket; an imitation morocco case opened, and contained within it a small and not powerful lens, fixed in a metal frame at a short distance from an upright pin, on which the object for examination was to be stuck, and the entire workmanship was highly creditable. The telescopes were framed in stiff paper-cases, sufficiently thick and ingeniously lackered to resemble leather over wood. The glasses, though small, were clear: the magnifying power was not great, but it was a marvel to see such an instrument sold for a shilling! We saw another superior description of Japanese telescope, six feet long when pulled out; it was quite as powerful and as genuine as those *real Dollands* which our naval outfitters are in the habit of procuring for credulous parents when equipping their sailor children at seaports. The price at Nangasaki is a dollar or five shillings, but at Portsmouth it is five pounds sterling! The Japanese clocks exhibited for sale were beautiful specimens of mechanism, and proved that the people of this country are most cunning in the fashioning of metals. One was like those table-clocks we see at home under square glass-covers, all the works being open to scrutiny;

it was six or eight inches high, and about as broad, and it would have been difficult to know it from one of Mr Dent's best of a like description. The Japanese day being divided into twelve hours of unequal duration—dependent, so far as we could understand, upon the amount of daylight or darkness in each day—the dial of their clocks was therefore different from ours; in some it was changed every month, and in others the motion of the hands was regulated by an ingenious adaptation of weights and increased or decreased length of pendulum. A good clock of this description, which, from its elegance, and the beautiful workmanship and chasing of the exterior, would have been an ornament anywhere, was only priced at about £8.

When Japan was first visited by Europeans, silk in the raw state was largely imported from Tonquin and China: it appears likely that, when Nangasaki is opened again to foreign commerce, silk, both raw and manufactured, will be exported to an equal extent.* Manufactured silks and crapes were both plentiful and cheap, and some of the heavier descriptions, such as are not made in China. The gentry and higher orders of tradespeople wore silk, and it appears that, during the period Japan has shut herself out from the world, she has succeeded in naturalising the silk-worm.

Every dollar spent, and nearly denuded of uniform buttons, which had been presented as *gages d'amitié* to the delighted children in the streets, we strolled back to the landing-place, and pulled to the ship, raced off for

* Without claiming to be a prophet, the writer may mention that the export of silk from Japan now amounts to 10,000 bales.

the greater part of the distance by a gig's crew of Japanese men-of-war's men—stout-built, brawny-chested fellows, with shaved polls and beardless faces. Of course it was highly unbecoming that such exalted foreigners as ourselves should race against a boat-load of black fellows, and our men looked as if they thought their chief must have taken leave of his senses when they were ordered to "give way;" but it was something to find a boat full of dark skins, who, from pure spirit of emulation, desired to match their bone and muscle against white men. So we indulged them. Right well the Johnnies—for who is not a "bono" or "no bono Johnny" to our men?—put their wills to their oars, and good-naturedly they laughed as we shot by them, and told them in words and by signs that they were stout good fellows. Then they tossed their oars, and sheered off to his Imperial Japanese Majesty's schooner, a craft which looked in fair order, and on board of which the men exercised aloft daily in a highly creditable manner.

Our day's observations led us to a conclusion which every hour in Japan confirmed—that the people inhabiting it are a very remarkable race, and destined, by God's help, to play an important *rôle* in the future history of this remote quarter of the globe. It was impossible not to recognise in their colour, features, dress, and customs, the Semitic stock whence they must have sprung; but they differed much, physically and mentally, from that cold-blooded race. Full of fresh life and energy, anxious to share and compete with European civilisation, ready to acknowledge its superiority, and desirous of adapting

it to their social and public wants, how charming a contrast to the stolid Chinaman, who smiles blandly at some marvel of Western skill or science, and calmly assures you that their countrymen "hab got all the same that Pekin side!"

The Dutch naval and military instructors bore the highest testimony to the intelligence and mental capacity of their pupils; that their aptitude for every branch of knowledge, and their avidity for acquiring information, were equally remarkable. Mathematics, algebra, and geography they acquired *con amore*, and the facility of computation by means of the European system of arithmetic, astonished and delighted them exceedingly. There was not a trade, or manufacture, or invention common to Europe or the United States that they did not expect to have explained to them, in order that they might immediately proceed to imitate it; and inquiries upon these subjects would come from the Government, the nobles, and the people generally. Like very inquisitive children, they often nearly posed their instructors.

One day some great personage desired to have the construction of Colt's pistols and Sharp's rifles explained to him, in order that he might undertake their manufacture.* Another insisted upon making aneroids at Yedo. Glass-making in all its branches became a great rage, and some of the specimens of ornamental bottles were very original and tasteful in pattern. Iron and brass guns were cast of every calibre up to those of ten

* We heard that the Prince of Saxuma had armed his retainers with both of the above weapons, made by native workmen after models obtained from Europeans.

inches diameter. Shells, with the latest improvements in fuzes, one prince could produce; and another became so enraptured with steam machinery, and I daresay so shocked at the enormous price the Dutch charged them for the steamers, that a factory for their construction was established, and one complete engine had already been turned out of hand, put up in a vessel built at Nangasaki, and actually worked about the harbour.

On all the thousand and one difficulties that occurred to the Japanese in carrying out their system of imitating in Japan all we could produce in Europe, the Dutch instructors were expected to throw a light, and perhaps they sometimes suffer in reputation as oracles. They put me much in mind of the unenviable position some of our sailors are often placed in when they desert to an island in the South Seas. "Can you preach, mend a musket, and fight?" is the general question put by the assembled natives. "Of course I can," is the reply of the poor fellow, who is installed immediately in the triple office of high-priest, oracle, and monarch: and amidst the unceasing calls upon his theology, his oratory, his inventive powers, and his pugnacity, often wishes himself safely back in the fore-top of her Majesty's brig Diver.

These Dutch gentlemen were not, however, daunted by the difficulties they had to surmount, and strove hard to impart all the knowledge that was sought. As an instance of the abrupt and unexpected queries put to them, one of these persons told me that a Japanese came all the way from the capital, an overland journey of forty odd days' duration, to inquire about one particular subject. What was it?—"Explain the means by which

the hourly variations of the barometer may be registered by means of a photographic apparatus!"

My informant was for a time fairly puzzled, but at last, in some recent work on photography, he found what had been done, and told the messenger how it was possible to do so. "But surely you want some other information?" he asked. "No, that was what he was sent to know, and he had no other business!"

The latest improvement adopted was to teach the young men to ride in European fashion for military purposes; and whilst we were in Nangasaki, a Dutch non-commissioned officer was busy teaching a number of Japanese gentlemen to ride in a riding-school constructed for the purpose. When they were perfect, they would be sent into different provinces to instruct their countrymen; for although there are abundance of horses in Japan, and rather good ones too, still, what with straw-shoes for their hoofs, and stirrups weighing fifty pounds a-piece, and lackered saddles, it must be acknowledged that their cavalry is as yet far from formidable. In infantry movements I was told that they had for some time received instruction, and that, as a militia, their force was very respectable; indeed, a Russian officer who was staying at Nangasaki, and who had seen much of Japan, spoke of the perfect military organisation of the empire in warm terms. From his description, the entire population formed one complete army, of which every town, village, and hamlet might be said to be companies or sections. The power, however, of directing these forces upon any point, either for offence or defence, is vastly curbed by the independent tenure of the three

hundred and sixty princes. Each of these is the chief authority in his own state, and, like our barons of old, claims a power of life and death over his subjects, though at the same time acknowledging as their sovereign and chief the Tai-koon, and the council resident in Yedo.

Owing to the absence of the Dutch superintendent of trade, Donker Curtius, upon the diplomatic service spoken of in the last chapter, there was a considerable amount of restraint in the bearing of the Dutch residents. They appeared in doubt what part it was prudent to play, and what amount of information to give in the present uncertain state of the foreign relations between Japan and Europe. Perhaps it was natural enough that they should not at once feel at ease, when the restrictions and contumely they have endured so long were suddenly removed. From what they said, it was utterly out of the question for the British Ambassador to attempt to open negotiations with the Imperial Government through the very inferior officers known to Europeans as the governor and lieutenant-governor of Nangasaki: indeed, had they even been men of rank, there were obvious reasons why those who had been the instruments of an insulting policy towards Europeans should, if possible, have nothing to do with the arrangements upon which our future intercourse was to be carried on. The presentation of the yacht sent by her most gracious Majesty to the Emperor of Japan would have been equally improperat this spot; and as, in the orders given to her commander, some one in England had by accident directed her to be presented at Yedo, Lord Elgin availed himself of that excuse for proceeding

thither immediately. This arrangement became all the more feasible, as our Naval Commander-in-chief, who had been the person instructed to deliver the yacht to the Japanese Government, found himself unable to go as far as Yedo at this moment, and deputed the senior officer of our little squadron, Captain Charles Barker, to do so, in such a manner, time, or place, as the Ambassador might desire; and to Yedo, or as near it as possible, we were now to proceed.

CHAPTER IV.

THE promised visit of the Lieutenant-governor of Nangasaki to his Excellency the British Ambassador took place in the afternoon. The Lieutenant-governor was anxious not only to see the Ambassador, of whom they had heard much in Japan, and whose advent in a pacific character they little expected, but he wished to examine and report upon the yacht Emperor. It was arranged that, after the visit to Lord Elgin, the Lieutenant-governor should proceed to inspect her, escorted by Lieutenant-commander Ward. On all previous occasions that British men-of-war had visited Japan, or that high officers of the two nations had exchanged civilities, our usual custom of saluting with guns in honour of their rank had been avoided, in obedience to Japanese port-orders. Even on this occasion Lord Elgin had requested the senior officer, Captain Barker, not to pay him the usual token of respect, in deference, as we concluded, to the wishes of the Japanese authorities. Suspecting, however, that the Japanese officials might after all be inclined to stretch the point when compliments to themselves were in question, it was arranged by our Ambassador that the Lieutenant-governor should be asked if he would like a salute, and if so, it was immediately to

be fired. He not only wished to be saluted, but knew the number of charges he was entitled to by our European code. I need not say that the Retribution was firing away almost as soon as the wish was expressed; and for the future, at any rate, British ships need not hesitate to pay to their own or foreign officers the proper marks of respect. We afterwards learnt that the American and Russian flag-officers had very recently, in the same port, been firing salutes in honour of the anniversary of American independence, and of each other.

Lord Elgin suggested that it would give him great pleasure to salute the Japanese flag with twenty-one guns, as men-of-war usually do on visiting the port of a friendly power. Our visitors approved of the idea amazingly; but on making an inquiry as to whether the forts or ships would return the salute with an equal number of guns (a *sine qua non* in all international salutes), they replied—"Return salute—how?—why?" It was explained that if England saluted Japan, Japan must return the compliment. "Ah!" said the interpreter, "Japan cannot do that. Japan cannot salute: the Governor has given no authority to do so." "Then please to tell the Governor that England cannot salute until Japan does."

The Lieutenant-governor then proceeded to lunch with his Lordship. After lunch the yacht was visited, and the authorities expressed themselves delighted with the completeness and beauty of every part of the vessel, and promised to send up to Yedo most favourable reports of the gift to his imperial majesty the Tai-koon of Japan.

Every one in the squadron asked why, of all things to

be found in Great Britain, the Government should have selected a yacht—about the only object that it was utterly impossible the Tai-koon should ever use? Any one who had taken the trouble to read the briefest account of Japan could have known that. Yedo was said to be unapproachable for vessels; and even if the yacht, drawing twelve feet water, could touch the quay, the Tai-koon at Yedo, as well as the Spiritual Emperor at Miaco, were forbidden to quit their palaces, and the former could never see her except with a spy-glass from his terraces, two miles off! So far as an excuse for going to Yedo was concerned, any other present, with instructions to deliver it at that place, would certainly have better answered the purpose. When one saw how full of intelligence all the other classes in Japan were —how capable of appreciating the skill and mechanism employed in any of the marvels of scientific labour Great Britain contains—it was a subject of regret that a screw-schooner, with bird's-eye maple panels and velvet cushions—very handsome, no doubt, but quite matched by most river-boats in England or America—should have been the only specimen sent of our mechanical or manufacturing skill that suggested itself to our Government.

A lieutenant of the Russian navy, who had been left behind in charge of a party of scorbutic sailors landed from the frigate Eskold, visited us, and had much to say of the untiring kindness of the authorities, and of the Japanese in general. Lieutenant L—— declared them to be the finest race on the earth; and as he lived amongst them, and saw but little of the Dutch, he was in a good position to form an opinion on the subject.

There is, I think, far more of the South-Sea islander than of the Chinaman in these inhabitants of Southern Japan. Love, who never assuredly had so little nose as to enter China,* has made Japan his abiding-place, and lurks in the bright eyes of all her bronze-cheeked daughters—the "ower gude" may think too much so; but, poor souls! let us be charitable. We are but sailors and travellers; by-and-by our saints will reach Japan, and, clasping their hands, will reprove her, and, sighing, thank Providence they are not so naughty as to let the sun shine on *their* follies.

Woman holds in Japan a good social position. She is not cooped up in pestiferous apartment to delight some fattened-up Chinese mandarin or greasy Brahmin, but contributes not a little to the charms of man's life; she has succeeded in asserting her right to be treated like a rational being, quite as well able to take care of herself as the sterner sex. Their freedom granted, it is true, the fair damsels—nay, and the matrons—have in some respects jumped over the traces. For example, with a highly commendable liking to cleanliness, they somewhat depart from Western notions of propriety as to the time and place for their ablutions. Yet, after all, that is a mere matter of taste. A tub of water in the open air, in a balmy climate, is, all will allow, very delicious, and the ladies of Nangasaki saw no good reason to forego their pleasurable bath because there happened to be an unsolicited influx of hairy-faced strangers, at a

* And my countrywomen will say so too, when I tell them that a Chinese lover does not even know how to kiss, and that the act of kissing is unknown there. A mother does not kiss her own child.

season of the year when bathing was more than ever necessary. Their own countrymen did not stop and gaze, but went and did likewise. If future European residents resist the temptation to adopt the *al-fresco* habits of the people, let them bear in mind our good old motto, *Honi soit qui mal y pense*, and not stare rudely at the ladies.

We had been two days and one night in Nangasaki; the second evening was closing in, and though we could not already be tired of it, yet oh! we longed so to be off to Yedo!—Yedo, the mysterious city of such enormous extent, famous for the beauty of its site, with a population next in numbers to London, and Yedo, this great wonder, it was just possible (thought and said some sanguine individuals) that we might see. The idea was scoffed at by our Dutch friends: it was true that the Gulf of Yedo washed the beach close up to the capital; but then there were banks and shallows and dangers which rendered it impossible for great ships to approach the unvisited city. Yet the sea was there, and where there was salt water there was hope for our handy ships. To wish to be off again from so sweet a place as Nangasaki was unreasonable and restless, was it not? And looking as we did that last beautiful evening on all the loveliness around us, the rebuke at first seemed well merited. The bay by day is beautiful, but give me Nangasaki by moonlight, when the heat is passing away, and the cool breezes of night invigorate the frame and stipple the polished surface of the water, which reflects the starry beauty of the blue vault overhead, except where the dark shadows of native and foreign craft are thrown

athwart it. The delicate play of the moonlight upon town, village, and upland; the phosphorescent wake of the numerous boats passing and repassing; the twinkling lights and the drowsy hum of a large city during the early hours of night—all formed a picture which might tempt the mind to rest here content.

And as we sat in that calm moonlight we talked of wild scenes that had been enacted here. Some told of a goodly Spanish ship that sailed in long ago through that seaward portal, now shrouded by the dark gloom of the overhanging cliff—a tall ship of three decks, a yearly trader from the Philippines—a royal vessel, combining the war-ship and merchantman. Her swelling canvass furled, she swings to her anchors, and flaunts from many a mast quaint colours and pennons. Culverins and brass pieces peer out of her ports; and the golden ensign, with its broad bloody stripes, waves proudly over her stern. On shore there is much excitement. Twelve months previously, the Japanese had learnt that a vessel of their country had been basely set upon off the Philippines by Spaniards, and the vessel and the crew sunk in the depths of the sea: for this the imperial government had forbidden Spaniards under pain of death to visit Japan. This galleon had come in contempt of the mandate, and, though warned of the horrors that would ensue if he remained in the port, the Spaniard would not or could not sail. The Court issued a mandate, and the Spaniard was to suffer at any cost the penalty of his insolence. We may imagine the muster of row-boats,—the Prince of Arima arranging his devoted retainers, promising high reward to the valiant, short shrift to the

craven. We can fancy the scorn of the high-couraged Don in his lofty bark for the yelping savages around him, naked half-armed infidels, who come against the steel-clad conquerors of half the world! Then the shout of defiance, and the wild music of the war-shell, as each party rushed on. Wolves never went better at a sure quarry than the Japanese at the huge ship. In spite of resistance, they cling to her tall sides, scale them, reach the upper deck, and throw themselves, regardless of life, upon the astonished Spaniards. When too late, the Don sees he has underrated his foe. He determines to resort to a desperate expedient of those times.* The retreat sounds, all the Spaniards rush below to the lower deck, and the upper deck is blown up, and with the yell of victory on their lips the Japanese are hurled into the water scorched and burnt.

Alas for the Spaniard! the wind is right adverse to his escape, and every minute adds hundreds to the host pouring down to the attack. There is nothing for it but a death worthy of his race. Again the assault, again numbers carry the day, and the resolute Spaniards retire to the third deck, and again blow up the victors above them. Thrice, says the Japanese chronicle quoted by worthy Master Kæmpfer, was this desperate mode of resistance resorted to, until defenders, assailants, and galleon sank in the bloody waters. Although the unfortunate infringers of the imperial edict had perished to a man, the native historian acknowledges that the

* In olden times, blowing up the deck with small quantities of powder was resorted to in cases of a desperate resistance to boarding-parties.

triumph of Japanese justice had been won only by the sacrifice of three thousand of her sons! Such was one episode in the history of Nangasaki. Under the seductive appearances of this Japanese Capua are there still such fierce and bloody feelings, which a single spark may rouse into action?

In naval life, they who would be doing must necessarily be restless, and too true is it that

> "To *have* done,
> Is to hang, like rusty armour, in monumental mockery."

No sooner does a sailor anchor in quiet haven than he would fain be pushing to sea; no sooner there, than, buffeted by wind and sea, he desires another port. Some call this restlessness, discontent, and it has been declared to be

> "A fever at the core,
> Fatal to him who bears, to all that ever bore."

We do not agree with this, but maintain that if we sailors do not always know what is best for us, we do not differ in this respect from the rest of mankind—the tale of the three wishes and the famous black-pudding having been invented long since for the reproof, upon that point, of landsmen, no doubt. And as the night is fine, and we do not sail before noon to-morrow, let me tell you, as a *pendant* to that same story, the nautical legend on the subject of constantly wishing for what we have not got, and not knowing what we want.

Down amongst those South-Sea isles which fairies delight to visit, and sailors love to cruise in, H.M. frigate —— had just sailed from some pleasant spot, where the

songs were as sweet as those of *Toobonai*. There had been weeping Neuhas on the shore, and there was many a sad Torquil on board that day. No one, except the restless captain, rejoiced in the sparkling blue Pacific and rattling trade-wind which filled the frigate's canvass and sped her dancing over the sea.

Tom Hardy sat on the fore-bitts and said, "There was no peace whatsomedever aboard a ship; and it was precious hard, just as a poor fellow had got exactly what he wanted, that the adjective ship got under way, to pitch her adjective forecastle into a chopping head-sea."

"Ah! you never knows what you really want," said his sage shipmate; "and if so be you could get what you wants just for the asking, you would not know what to ask for."

Tom used most emphatic language, and wished himself in very uncomfortable places if ever he should growl again, provided he could have three or four wishes fulfilled. Hardly had the words passed Tom's lips, when a beautiful fairy stood before him.

"Speak up, Tom Hardy," said she; "say what you want to make you a contented captain of the fo'castle. I'll give you four wishes, provided they are for as many different things."

You might think Tom would be for a moment startled; but a beautiful lady, with a profusion of hair and very little clothing, was not quite the thing to frighten him. "Thank ye, marm," said Tom, touching his cap; "I'm all ready, and much obleeged to yer."

"Then fire away!" said the fairy. "First and foremost," said Tom, "I wants plenty of grog." "That you

shall have," replied the fairy, smiling; "real Jamaica pine-apple flavour—as much as you can swim in." You see the fairy was accustomed to sailors.

"Then," proceeded Tom, rubbing his hands, "let us have heaps of 'baccy—bird's-eye and cavendish mixed." "All right, Tom!" said the lady; "heaps of 'baccy, bird's-eye and cavendish mixed, you shall have."

"By Jove, you are a brick!" says Tom; "you are about the best friend I ever had. Lookye here, my beauty!" says he, getting up as if he was going to shake hands with the fairy. "Hands off, Mr Tom!" exclaimed she; "go on wishing. You are only half-way through your bargain." "Well," says Tom, "what I next wants —begging your parding, seeing you're a lady—is plenty of pretty girls when I goes ashore." "Very well!" replied the fairy, laughing like anything, "you shall have them too; and I'll throw some fiddlers into the bargain."

Tom was delighted. "By the Lord Harry!" he said, "I'm happy now. I say, chum! how about not knowing what was good for me? Here's grog galore, heaps of 'baccy, and lots of sweethearts. I'm content." "But come, come, Tom," urged the fairy; "fulfil your part of the contract. You must wish once more: be quick!"

"Oh, bother it!" growled out Tom Hardy; "must I really?" "Yes; come, be quick!" she replied. "Well, then," said he, "give us more grog."

"Your chum was in the right," said the fairy; "you don't know what you want. You ask for more grog, when I have already promised you enough to swim in; and you have forgotten to ask to be put ashore from the

frigate. You are a good-for-nothing old growl, and so you will remain to the end of your days." With that she disappeared; and it is true enough Tom Hardy is now as big an old growl as ever chewed quid on a forecastle, though he firmly believes, if that fairy would only give him *another chance*, he would know what to ask for.

The afternoon of August 5th, 1858, saw the good ship steaming past the different headlands, islands, and batteries as we quitted Nangasaki: the sea was smooth, and played upon by just enough wind to give animation to great numbers of native craft. Every creek, channel, and bay was studded with vessels of all sizes—from those of a hundred and fifty tons burthen to petty fishing-boats—so that though the Government has interdicted foreign commercial intercourse, there must be a vast coasting trade and a large seafaring population. Brighter afternoon never shone, and the scene was one of unsurpassed beauty and interest as we bowled away southward to round the extreme point of the Japanese group, and so enter the sea which washes its eastern seaboard. Between the deeply-indented coasts of the Morea of Greece and its off-lying islands and this portion of Japan there is much resemblance; but on close approach Japan shows signs of much civilisation, energy, industry, and wealth, which modern Greece decidedly does not exhibit, whatever it did in olden days.

Singular as is the construction of a Chinese junk, and original as are the various appliances to meet the requirements of her occupation as a traverser of stormy seas, the Japanese vessels of large size are still more

curious. We saw many fully one hundred and twenty tons burthen. Their length was about a hundred feet, the extreme beam fully a fourth of the length, and far aft as in the American yacht; the depth of the hold was not great, and the form of that portion of the vessel that was immersed was very fine, and calculated for great speed. The bow was long, and the gunwale was not high, but it curved gently up into a lofty stem very like that of the Roman galley, and finished, like it, with an ornamental beak-head, serving to secure the forestay of the solitary mast. The mast was a ponderous mass of pieces of fir, glued, pegged, and hooped together in the same way as those for our large ships are built; the height from deck to truck was full fifty feet, and the head of the mast had a curve in it, to serve better as a derrick in supporting the heavy yard: the halliards going in one direction aft, and the stay in the other forward, seemed the principal supports of this ponderous spar, but there were backstays and shrouds in some cases. The yard was a rough clumsy spar, slung amidship, the sail an oblong mass of cotton cloths, which are not sewn, but *laced* vertically to each other in such a manner that daylight may be seen between the cloths of which the sail is composed; and when it is desirable to reef, a cloth is unlaced, and the sail reduced in a vertical direction—not horizontally, as seamen of every other part of the world do, including even those of China. This sail and mast are placed well abaft the centre of the vessel, and to tack or veer, the sheet and tack have merely to be reversed. When on a wind, the vessel's long bow and nose serve like a head-sail to keep her from coming

up into the wind's eye; and it is truly strange to see a sail hanging in a perfect bag, and each cloth in it what seamen call *bellying*, like a yacht's balloon-jig, yet at the same time the vessel keeps a good wind, and makes great progress in smooth water. In the arrangement of the stern and rudder they differ little from the Chinese, but the tiller is marvellously long, doubtless to save labour by increased leverage.

The shores of the Japanese group afford great facilities for a coasting trade, from the abundance of harbours, and the shelter for vessels of small size which can cling to the shore. This is one reason that every Japanese vessel is so profusely furnished with anchors and cables. The former are of iron, and of grapnel shape, right serviceable-looking, and all the large vessels had from six to eight arranged on the fore-end. This circumstance gave us the first hint that Japan was anything but a smooth-water coast. These traders navigate the great inland sea known as the Suwo-nada, between the three great islands of Nipon, Sikok, and Kiu-siu; and they likewise run up and down the west coast of Kiu-siu, and from Miaco to Yedo by way of the Strait of Kino. We saw none of them in the offing of the stormy east coast of Kiu-siu; indeed, in the weather we experienced there on two occasions no native vessels could have lived.

Towards sunset we saw on our larboard beam the entrance to the great bay in Kiu-siu, on which the ill-fated city of Simbarra once stood. The place still exists—at least it is marked in the latest chart—and history will preserve the name of a spot which was the last strong-

hold of native Christianity in Japan, and which saw, as Roman Catholic writers assert, the destruction of thirty thousand converts to their faith. It was at Simbarra, too, over the common grave of its inhabitants, that the famous inscription was erected, warning the natives, that to prefer to their ancient faith that of the Christians, would be to draw down upon themselves the punishment due to traitors to their emperor and their country. One sentence ran thus: "So long as the sun shall warm the earth, let no Christian be so bold as to come to Japan; and let all know that the King of Spain himself, or the Christian's God (the Pope?), if he violate this command, shall pay for it with his head."

Before night closed in, the lofty inland heights in the centre of southern Kiu-siu rose sharp and clear against the sky, and throughout the first watch we saw the loom of these mountains, known to ancient mariners under the not euphonious title of the highlands of Bungo! A freshening breeze sped us on, and islands and rocks were rapidly passed as we hurried to reach the channel, called after the navigator Van Diemen, which separates Kiu-siu from the long string of dependent isles known as the Linschoten and Loo-choo groups. There was a threatening twinkle about the stars, which would have betokened a hard north-easter upon our own shores; and as, in spite of a difference of twenty degrees of latitude between England and Japan, there was reason to believe the climates were much alike, we made preparations to face the heavy gale and sea which would already be lashing the coast to the eastward of Cape Satanomisaki. The squadron had parted company, but

we expected we should all meet again at the port of Simoda, our next rendezvous. Waiting for one another was not to be thought of where expedition was so necessary, for Lord Elgin intended to finish off his work in Japan, and return to Shanghai in time to meet the Imperial Commissioners from Pekin. As we are rounding the coast to enter the Strait of Van Diemen—from right before the breeze to a taut bowline, then furling sails, sending down topgallant yards and masts, and by the aid of steam power facing the gale—we may, the better to understand the country we are writing of, tell in a condensed form some of the most striking passages of the history of its intercourse with foreign nations. The basis of the narrative is taken from Purchas, Marco Polo, Kæmpfer, Siebold, and portions of a Chinese work entitled, 'An Illustrated Notice of Countries beyond the Sea,' * translated by Thomas Wade, Esq., Chinese Secretary to the British Embassy, to whom I am indebted not only for its perusal, but also for some most able papers published some years since.

* This work was compiled by Commissioner Lin, of opium notoriety, during his disgrace in the last war with England. It first appeared in 1842, and has now gone through four editions, with considerable corrections. It is rather remarkable that the wealthy family of Commissioner Yeh likewise contributed largely to the expenses of its publication.

CHAPTER V.

JAPAN—or, as the natives pronounce it, Nīpon—consists of four large islands, Kiu-siu, Nīpon, Sikok, and Jesso, and a host of smaller ones, extending from latitude 29° north to latitude 45° north. Nīpon, which gives its name to the empire, and is the abode of the Court, was doubtless the centre from which its present civilisation emanated. It appears that the whole group was inhabited long prior to the commencement of its authentic records. Whether first colonised by refugees from the mainlands of China and the Corea, or by a people who came direct from Babel by a north-about route, as old Kæmpfer maintains, can be of little importance. Travellers, like ourselves, may rejoice that, if it was the confusion of tongues which led to the peopling of Japan, the wanderers thither carried with them a full, rich, and pleasant-sounding language, superior to the wretched discordance of their neighbours in China.

It will be going back far enough into the ancient history of Nīpon to say, that 650 years B.C., when Rome was still in its long-clothes, a hero, known as the Divine Warrior, invaded and conquered it from the West. Simmoo, for so he is named, firmly established a dynasty which has flourished to the present day, in a line of 120

successive male and female monarchs. Of their reigns, far better records exist than the oldest European empire can boast. The early monarchs combined in their person the double offices of high-priest and generalissimo. Chinese historians, with their usual modesty, assert that Jih-pun, as they call Japan, was voluntarily tributary to the Celestial emperor; but it is doubtful whether the Imperial air of "Subjugation perfected" ever sounded in the ears of Japanese tribute-bearers, unless in the same surreptitious manner as it was once played over a British ambassador in modern days.

Marco Polo was the first who brought Japan to European ken under the name of Zipangu, and he was at the Chinese capital in 1278, just after Kublai-Khan with his Mongol hordes had overrun China. Envoys had been sent, we are told, to speak plainly to the Emperor of Japan. "Lest," says Kublai-Khan, "that the true state of things be not as yet known and understood in your land, therefore I send to acquaint you with my views. Already philosophers desire to see all mankind one family: I am determined to carry out this principle, even though I should be obliged to do so by force of arms: it is now the business of the King of Nīpon to decide what course is most agreeable to him." The Mikado, or Nīpon king, did not enter at all into the philosophical views of his powerful neighbour, and behaved very unlike a tributary monarch. He was then assisted in the management of secular affairs by a Ziogoon, whose office had become hereditary, as a sort of assistant-emperor; and while the Mikado zealously performed his priestly part of praying for the success of his

armies, the Zio-goon set a valiant example to the people, who victoriously repelled Kublai-Khan's invading forces. But henceforth the Zio-goon retained the increased powers with which he had been intrusted, and the spiritual and temporal emperors became joint authorities. No sooner were the Chinese and Mongols driven off, than the Japanese retaliated by ranging in their barks as pirates or buccaneers up the coast of China from Swatow to the Shan-tung promontory.

In 1350 we find Chinese records of extraordinary levies and defences to meet the marauders and expel them from different points in their possession. A century later the Chinese, with their usual patient endurance of misery, were still suffering from these freebooters. They are described by writers of 1459* as a fierce people, naturally cunning: they would always put on board their ships some of the produce or merchandise of their own country, and also weapons of war; with these they would stand off and on, and so they could parade their goods, and call them "tribute to the crown of China," until a favourable opportunity offered, when they would take arms and make a wild inroad on the coast. In 1540, these Japanese pirates had become so formidable that the Chinese historian says their extermination was impossible.

The Portuguese adventurers had then arrived at Ningpo, and doubtless met Japanese; and there could not have been much difficulty in the way of an enterprising marauder like Fernando Mendez Pinto doing what he

* See 'Illustrated Notice of Countries beyond the Sea,' a Chinese work translated by T. F. Wade, Esq., Chinese Secretary.

says he did—accompanying one of their homeward-bound junks, and reaching an island off the south extreme of Kiu-siu, named Kanega-Sima—and then carrying back to his countrymen the first news of the re-discovery of Marco Polo's Zipangu. It is strange that both their reports were hardly believed. Marco Polo has long since had justice done to him, but poor Pinto still labours under the charge of having told sad travellers' tales. Writers generally assert that Japan was accidentally fallen upon by shipwrecked Portuguese; but we are inclined to think that the meeting of the two peoples upon the coasts of China would naturally lead the Portuguese to visit Japan. It is quite possible that, until formal permission to trade was obtained from the Mikado and the Zio-goon, it was necessary to represent the visits as purely accidental.

It is very remarkable that, from 1542, when the Portuguese were first received in Japan, and their friendship, faith, and commerce warmly espoused, until a reaction took place, Japanese hostility to China became still more virulent. Did they teach Christianity and encourage piracy? Whilst the sainted Xavier and his zealous successors were winning in Nipon more than a million souls to the fold of their heavenly Master, the race they found so tractable was carrying fire and sword into the opposite provinces of China. It was only when the active persecution of the Christians and Portuguese commenced that China found peace.

The records of the courage and daring of these Japanese Vikings read like those of the Danish invaders of Britain. "In 1552, the Japanese vessels," says the 'Chronicle,'

"hundreds in number, covered the seas, and spread terror along the coasts of China for many thousands of *li*."* Shanghai, Keang-yin, on the great river, and Shapoo, were sacked. In 1553 they pillaged Soo-chow-foo, Ching-keang-foo, and the island of Tsung-ming in the entrance of the Yang-tse. In 1554 they waxed still more bold; their vessels arrived in great numbers; and the leaders of each division (like Cortes in Mexico) fired their barks as they landed in a country they intended to conquer. Hang-chow-foo soon fell, and they appear to have sacked the entire country situated between the Yang-tse and Ning-po rivers, and as far back as Hang-chow, Soo-chow, and Nankin! At Nankin they were defeated; but it is surprising to learn from the accounts given of this affair, that these bodies of buccaneers seldom exceeded sixty or seventy in number. Yet these small bands often defeated forces ten times more numerous, and carried fortified or walled cities by stratagem or escalade. One body of 200 Japanese actually, during a period of fifty days, ravaged three prefectures, any of them as large as an English county, "killing and capturing an incalculable number of people," says the 'Chronicle.' These war-parties were detachments from the main body of buccaneers, who to the number of 20,000 occcupied places of security from Woosung to Shapoo, and thence round by Ning-po to Tski-ke, places all easily recognised on a map by those who are cognisant of the British operations in China. As late as 1575, Chusan was in the hands of the Japanese; in 1579 the Pescadores, in Formosa Channel, Tien-pak in Quang-

* A *li* is about the third of a mile.

tung, and some places in Fuh-kien, fell to them, and great was the misery of the seaboard dwellers of the Flowery Land.

"It was the custom of the barbarians of Japan to divide their force into three divisions. The van, composed of their stoutest men, and their rear-guard of the like, in the centre the brave and cowardly were ranged alternately. They rose at cock-crow, and fed on the ground—this over, the chief, from a position above them, read the orders for the day, detailing their duties, telling off the different companies, and pointing out the place for their foray that day. The companies did not consist of more than thirty men each, and moved at a distance of two-thirds of a mile from each other. At a blast from a conch-shell, the nearest company closed to give support to the one that had given the signal. Skirmishers in twos or threes moved about armed only with swords. Towards evening the force reassembled, and every one gave up his spoil, none daring to retain it. The chief then made a partition in just proportion to those that had contributed to the day's success. They were addicted to drunkenness and debauchery, and usually set fire to places they had sacked, and escaped in the alarm thereby awakened. Every precaution against treachery or surprise was closely observed. They marched in single file, some distance apart, but in slow pace, and in such good order that the imperial troops could seldom take them at a disadvantage. Their powers of endurance were very great, and they marched vast distances without apparent fatigue. In action against artillery or archers, they received the first fire, and then rushed in to close

quarters. They were adepts in all the stratagems of war, and, though brave, used strange means to deceive the Chinese, and effect their end at as slight a loss to themselves as possible. Severe to prisoners made in battle, they were nevertheless so kind to the people in the vicinity of their resorts, that they were kept fully informed of all hostile movements against them. Fighting upon the water was not their forte," naïvely adds the Chinese annalist. "The bulwarks of their ships were all covered with cushions, which they damped to render them proof against fire. In some actions, as soon as they came to close quarters, they boarded with rapidity; their onset was terrible as the thunder, and those on board were scattered like the wind." *

In spite, however, of the state of constant hostility between the two races, there was a nominal peace between the two governments directly the Ming dynasty was re-established, and a legalised commerce upon a stipulated scale was allowed. A work entitled 'Records of Things seen and heard,' published in China, gives much accurate information about the habits and customs of the Japanese, besides some rather involved geographical information. We gather, however, what is tolerably correct, that a voyage of forty watches' duration (eighty hours) will carry a ship from the island of Pootoo in the Chusan group to the heights of Changki (Nangasaki) in Japan, provided she steer an east course; and the author adds, that where the winds and currents are so perverse,

* 'Annals of the Art of War;' an historical work in 300 volumes, extracts of which have been translated by T. F. Wade, Esq.

and there are so many dangers from storms and sea, it is very difficult to maintain one course, and that the voyage is altogether extremely hazardous. Whereupon he incontinently goes off into the poetic vein, and gives utterance to the following rhyme—

"Jeh-pun hâu ho
Wu-tau nân kwo!"

which being interpreted by our friend Mr Wade, means,

"Goodly are the wares of Nipon,
But the isles of Gotto are hard to pass!" *

It is possible some of our skippers, in dull-sailing merchant-ships, may have reason to think so too in the good time coming.

In the year 1579 terrible times dawned on Japan. The Portuguese had apparently worked marvels in Christianising the people. The great Xavier, having built fifty churches, and baptised as his own share 30,000 natives, became so satisfied with the spiritual safety of his Japanese, that he had quitted the country, despairing of winning there the crown of martyrdom, which he soon found upon the inhospitable coast of Southern China.

About this time the Zio-goon, having quelled some intestine troubles, caused by various ambitious nobles, secured to himself greater power than he had hitherto enjoyed as the secular monarch. He adopted as his

* The Gotto isles lie a short distance N.W. of Nangasaki; they would be a lee-shore to a junk in the S.E. monsoon, if to leeward of her port.

successor Taiko-sama, who, on the death of his benefactor, gave short shrift to all the disaffected princes and nobles in the land; and, aided by a powerful army, would have won a name as the conqueror of the Corea, had he not rendered himself still more remarkable by his edicts against Christianity. At first Taiko promised fair; but the Jesuits' refusal to baptise him because he would not give up his harem—a Portuguese captain's disregard of the order to take his ship to Taiko's residence for examination—the answer of the Spaniard, who, when asked by the Prince, "How is it that your king has managed to possess himself of half the world?" replied, "He sends priests to win the people; his troops then are sent to join the native Christians, and the conquest is easy"—naturally excited alarm for his own authority and independence, and make him swear, as tradition has it, "that not a priest should be left alive in his dominions!"

On 25th June 1587, the first edict for the banishment of the Catholic missionaries was issued. Taiko, by way, it is said, of getting rid of his disobedient subjects, sent large armies of Christians to the Corea, where they were victorious, though their losses were very great. In 1596 the edict was renewed against Christians; again all missionaries were ordered to quit the country. They disobeyed for the most part; and on the 5th February 1597, twenty-three rebellious priests suffered death in Nangasaki, and were duly canonised by Pope Urban VIII. in 1627. Taiko-sama's warrant has been preserved, and says, "I have condemned these prisoners to

death for having come from the Philippines to Japan under the pretended title of ambassadors, and for having persisted in my lands without my permission, and preached the Christian religion against my decree. I order and wish that they be crucified in my city of Nangasaki!"

CHAPTER VI.

In the following year, 1598, Taiko-sama died, and a usurper seized his throne. The Christians fancied all danger to be past, and the enormous profits of trade compensated for the loss of certain religious privileges. Kæmpfer, who is a very sober-minded writer, assures us that the Portuguese exported from Japan three hundred tons of gold per annum for a considerable period; and that when, through the hostility of the Japanese and the pertinacious competition of the Dutch, their prosperity was on the decline, their export of silver alone in the three last years amounted to the enormous sum of 5,637,000 taels, representing nearly two millions sterling in the present day, but twice as much at that time.

The tolerant conduct at first of the successor of Taiko-sama might have been dictated by necessity or policy; but his suspicions of the Portuguese and Spanish missionaries were either fomented or aroused into activity by support from the subjects of Protestant powers of Europe. Their arrival in Japan happened in so strange a manner, that the hand of Providence seems apparent in a course of events which prevented Roman Catholicism from taking firm root, where its influence might have entirely altered the present condition of Eastern Asia.

"In the year of our Lord God 1598," says the original account in dear delicious old Purchas, "Peter Vanderbaeg and Hans Vanderguck, chiefs of the Dutch Indian Company, made ready a fleet of five Hollanders to traffic unto the Indies. Tempted by the success of the Portuguese, the Dutch desired to enter upon the trade of those regions in spite of the hostility of the Dons, the bulls of the Pope, or the fires of the Inquisition. The admiral was stout Master Jacque Mahay, in the good ship Erasmus." From the pilot of this proud argosy, we have, in his letters to his wife, a faithful and touching record of the voyage, of which we will give a brief sketch.

William Adams was born "in Gillingham, two miles from Rochester and one mile from Chatham, where the Queen's ships do lie;" and he calls upon us to remember that he is thereby "a Kentish-man." "I was," he says, "from the age of twelve brought up in Limehouse, near London, being 'prentice twelve years to one master, Nicolas Diggins, and have served in the place of master and pilot in her majesty's ships, and about eleven or twelve years served the Worshipful Company of Barbary Merchants, until the Indian traffic from Holland began, in which Indian traffic I was desirous to make a little experience of the small knowledge which God hath given me."

The fleet in which Will Adams was embarked, sailed from the Texel on the 24th June 1598. Before they reached the equator sickness broke out, and they touched for refreshment on the coast of Guinea—a strong argument in favour of the Premier's assertion as to the won-

derful salubrity of that delightful naval station, and one which we freely place at his Lordship's disposal for the next annual motion of Mr Hutt, against the immolation of a certain number of Christian officers and men to save about an equal number of negroes. In spite of the salubrity of the coast of Guinea, Admiral Jacque Mahay and many more died there before the fleet again sailed. In April 1599 they reached the Straits of Magellan, having decided that they should go to the Indies by way of the South Seas, to make, no doubt, those "experiences" for which bold Will Adams had such a craving. Cold, hunger, and sickness pressed heavily upon the poor Dutchmen; and when, by dint of perseverance and skill, the solitary ship Erasmus reached Moka on the coast of Chili, the Spaniards were ready to slay and entrap them on every opportunity. After waiting until November 1599 for her consorts, only one vessel joined at the rendezvous, and she was piloted by Will Adams's very good friend and countryman, "one Timothy Shotten, who had been with Master Thomas Cavendish in his voyage round the world." Two of the fleet, it was conjectured, had sunk at sea, and another was known to have fallen into the hands of the Spaniards. These same gentry suddenly one day set upon the captain of the Erasmus, who was on shore purchasing supplies for his famishing crew, and besides slaying him and "my poor brother Thomas Adams," says Will in his letter, "they left scarce so many men whole as could weigh our anchor." The consort likewise lost her captain and twenty-seven men killed in another affair. Yet the resolute survivors, having appointed captains to their

vessels, "held a council as to what they should do to make their voyage most profitable. It was resolved to go for Japan; for, by the report of Derrick Gerritson, who had been there with the Portugals, woollen cloth was in great estimation in that island; and we gathered, by reason that the Malaccas and the most part of the East Indies were hot countries, woollen cloth would not be much accepted. Therefore it was we all agreed to go to Japan."

Gallant fellows, decimated by disease and an active enemy; there is something very fine in their resolve to push across that great, and then but little known sea—not in flight, not in abandonment of their enterprise, but to find a market for their woollens, which undoubtedly, as they appear to have somewhat tardily discovered, would have been a drug in the Indian market. On 29th November 1599, these two stout Hollanders, piloted by Will Adams and Timothy Shotten, bore up before the south-east trade-wind on their long and lonely voyage. Nothing can give a clearer idea of their weary journey than the following entry in the narrative:—"The wind continued good for *divers months!*" They cross the equator; we follow them through island channels, where eight men are killed and eaten by the natives; we see them as at last they approach the western limit of the great South Sea. Storm and angry seas await them as they come nigh Japan; and on the 24th February the Erasmus parts from her consort. Poor Timothy Shotten! he and his charge succumbed at last. Nevertheless the Erasmus still did her best—still directed her course for Japan. "The four-and-twentieth day of

March we saw an island called 'Una Colonna,' at which time many of our men were sick again, and divers dead. Great was the misery we were in, having no more than nine or ten men able to go or creep upon their knees; our captain and all the rest looking every hour to die. But on the 11th April 1600 we saw the high land of Japan near unto Bungo, at which time there were no more than five men of us able to go. The 12th April we came hard to Bungo, where many country barks came aboard us, the people whereof we willingly let come, having no force to resist them; and at this place we came to an anchor."

The Japanese Tai-koon, or executive emperor, happened at the time to be at Osaaca, the seaport of Miaco the spiritual capital; and when the circumstance of the arrival of other than a Portuguese or Spanish vessel was reported to him, he ordered the pilot, Master Adams, and one of the mariners, to be brought before him; the more so, doubtless, as the Portuguese represented the character of these new arrivals in anything but an amiable light; "for," says the Englishman's letter, "after we had been there (in Bungo) from five to six days, a Portugal Jesuit, with other Portugals, and some Japanese that were Christians, came from a place called Nangasaki; which was ill for us, the Portugals being our mortal enemies, who reported that we were pirates, and were not in the way of merchandising." As crucifixion was the penalty of this crime, and poor Adams and his companion were not aware that the other charge which was made against them, of being heretics, was rather a merit than otherwise with the rulers of Japan, it was

natural that they took a tender leave of their sick captain and shipmates; and then, adds the stanch old sailor, "I commended myself into *His* hands that had preserved me from so many perils on the sea."

In the presence of the emperor he spoke up manfully. "I showed him," says Will Adams, "the name of our country, and that our land had long sought out the East Indies;" and after explaining the purely mercantile purpose of their voyage, the king asked whether our country had wars? I answered him, "Yea; with the Spaniards and Portuguese, being at peace with all other nations." Well spoken, Will Adams! that was thy best and surest defence.

From what we have seen of Taiko-sama's dealings with the Christians, we may conclude that his successor would see without regret the arrival of strangers of a different religion, who, though worn out with suffering, and with the prospect of immediate death before them, openly avowed their hostility to the subjects of those powerful monarchs of Spain and Portugal, of whose vast resources, wealth, and ambition he had heard so much. It was, however, some time before the resolute Englishman was relieved from suspense as to his own fate. Nine-and-thirty long days of anxiety were passed in prison, the emperor having in the mean time ordered the ship to be brought up to Osaaca; and during all that time the Jesuits and Portugals used their utmost endeavours to have the crew of the poor Erasmus treated as thieves and robbers, and saying, "that if justice was executed upon us, it would terrify the rest of our nation from coming there any more; and," continues Adams, "to this intent they

daily sued to his majesty to cut us off." But the Pagan was more humane than the Christian; for, "praised be God for ever and ever!" ejaculated the saved sailor, "the emperor answered them, that because their two countries were at war, was no reason why, to please Portugals, he should slay Dutch and Englishmen!" and forthwith Will Adams and his companion were liberated, and sent to their ship and shipmates. They saluted each other with much shedding of tears, for all on board had been informed that Adams and his comrade had long since been executed.

Bright days now smiled upon the sorely-tried Dutchmen and their honest pilot; they were given everything they needed, treated most kindly, but they and their stout bark were never again to leave Japan. The Erasmus was ordered to the city of Yedo, then, as now, the capital of the Tai-koon, as Miaco was that of the Mikado. Will Adams's merits were so appreciated at court that he eventually obtained great influence. When, in 1609, the next Dutch ships arrived in Japan to act hostilely against the Portuguese, they found the Japanese government very well disposed towards them, and considerable privileges, as well as the port of Firando, were conceded to them, through the good offices of William Adams. Though he individually behaved with forbearance to the Portuguese, and, as he assures us, returned good for their evil, the Dutch had no such intention; and it is certain that, in introducing the Hollander to the commerce of Japan, our Englishman struck the deathblow to Portuguese interests there. By the Dutch ships Will Adams sent the interesting letters we have quoted, and at last,

as he desired, stimulated his countrymen to enter upon the same remunerative trade. He had already been thirteen years in Japan, when at last he learnt that a ship bearing the red cross of England had reached Firando.

She was the Clove of London, belonging to the East India Company (then in its infancy), and commanded by Captain John Saris, furnished with a letter from King James I., and suitable presents to the emperor. The good ship Clove had pushed to sea from the Thames on April 18th, 1611, and reached Firando on the 11th of June 1613, two years having been profitably spent in trading on the way, as ships were wont to do in those days. Adams was then at Yedo, and was immediately sent for by the Prince of Firando, who, in the mean time, treated the newly-arrived Englishmen with marked attention. On the 29th July 1613, poor Will Adams arrived, and greeted his long-expected countrymen; thirteen weary years he had looked forward hopefully, and at last the old man's prayer was granted. Early in August, Captain Saris, William Adams, and ten Englishmen, started for Yedo, bearing the royal letter and presents. The dignified bearing of Saris and the influence of Adams soon obtained from the emperor, or Tai-koon, a favourable treaty,* granting to England the most important

* TREATY CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE EMPEROR OF JAPAN AND KING JAMES OF GREAT BRITAIN.—*August* 1613.

"ART. 1.—We give free licence to the subjects of the King of Great Britain—viz. Sir Thomas Smith, Governor, and the Company of the East India merchants and adventurers—for ever safely to come into any of our ports of our empire of Japan, with their ships and merchandise, without any hindrance to them or their goods; and to

privileges that had ever been conceded by Japan to a foreign power. Saris carried back a letter likewise from the Tai-koon Iyeyas, in which he says he especially desires the friendship of James I., promises that his sub-

abide, buy, sell, and barter, according to their own manner with all nations; to tarry here as long as they think good, and to depart at their pleasure.

"ART. 2.—We grant unto them freedom of custom for all such merchandises as either now they have brought, or hereafter shall bring into our kingdoms, or shall from hence transport to any foreign part; and do authorise those ships that hereafter shall arrive and come from England to proceed to present sale of their commodities, without further coming or sending up to our court.

"ART. 3.—If any of their ships shall happen to be in danger of shipwreck, we will that our subjects not only assist them, but that such part of ship or goods as shall be saved be returned to their captain or merchant or their assigns. And that they shall or may build one house or more for themselves in any part of our empire where they shall think fittest, and at their pleasure.

"ART. 4.—If any of the English merchants or others shall depart this life within our dominions, the goods of the deceased shall remain at the disposal of the cape merchant, and that all offences committed by them shall be punished by the said cape merchant according to his discretion; and our laws to take no hold of their persons or goods.

"ART. 5.—We will that ye our subjects trading with them for any of their commodities, pay them for the same, according to agreement, without delay, or return their wages again unto them.

"ART. 6.—For such commodities as they have now brought or shall hereafter bring, fitting for service and proper use, we will that no arrest be made thereof; but that the price be made with the cape merchant, according as they may sell to others, and present payment upon the delivery of the goods.

"ART. 7.—If in discovery of other countries for trade, and return of their ships, they shall need men or victuals, we will that ye our subjects furnish them for their money as their need shall require.

"ART. 8.—And that without other passport, they shall and may set out upon the discovery of Jesso, or any other part in or about our empire."

jects shall be "heartily welcome," applauds much their worthiness and skill as navigators, and promises that in their "honourable enterprises of discoveries and merchandising, they shall find the said Tai-koon further them according to their desires."

The year 1613 saw the English factory established (as was the Dutch) at Firando. The English, from political reasons, very soon withdrew, and so avoided the troubles that overtook the other European residents in Japan. It is worthy of note that in the following year the persecution of the priests and their converts recommenced with renewed vigour, and ended, as I said before, in the expulsion of the Portuguese, and then the close imprisonment of the Dutch to the island of Decima.

In 1637 the great interdict was published, of which one paragraph runs thus:—"No Japanese ship or boat whatever, nor any native of Japan, shall presume to go out of the country; and who acts contrary to this shall be put to death, and the ship and goods shall be forfeited; and all Japanese who return from abroad shall be put to death."

From that time their vessels have never voluntarily left the coasts of Japan, though many a shipload of poor wretches has drifted away in storms, and reached some foreign land. But when, as once or twice was done, Christian ships carried back these men to Japan, they have been sternly refused admittance.

When, in 1673, the East India Company attempted to reoccupy their former factory, there was no Will Adams to be their advocate with the emperor. The selfish Dutchmen did not choose to remember that they

owed their own introduction to Japan to the influence of the English sailor. Although the English were civilly treated, yet, at the instigation of the Dutch, our trade was refused, because our then reigning king (Charles II.) was married to a daughter of the King of Portugal! The Dutch remained undisputed masters of the field until Sir Stamford Raffles made two attempts to break down their monopoly, but failed. After that no nation except Russia, whose ends are purely political, gave Japan further trouble until 1831. In that year, American attention was directed to the islands, and it was thought that a good plea for introducing America to their notice in a kindly way might be found in sending back some shipwrecked Japanese sailors. They received a very uncivil welcome, and the ship Morrison was repelled with violence. But not so the persevering nation that had sent her forth! If smaller ships did not succeed, bigger ships might; so the huge two-decker Columbus, of 90 guns, and the corvette Vincennes, were sent. This time she spake the truth honestly—America wanted intercourse for commercial and political purposes with Japan, as well as credit for philanthropy in returning unlucky Japanese sailors to their home. The United States intended then shortly to extend their frontier to the shores of the Pacific, and this great force ought to have shown the Japanese that Brother Jonathan was in earnest in being on visiting terms with his next-door neighbour. But the Tai-koon still held out. No trade except with Holland was still his motto; and America, being in no immediate hurry, was patient but watchful. In 1849 the Japanese were

foolish enough to retain some American seamen shipwrecked upon the coast. The U.S. ship Preble, Captain Glynn, forthwith dropped in and gave the Japanese authorities such a shaking that they gladly liberated the citizens of the United States. Then a very efficient officer and admirable squadron were sent from America in 1853, to bring about, by what is called *moral* force, some specific terms regulating the intercourse of the two countries. Commodore Perry, in his voluminous work, has so recently told us what means he employed to this end, that we need say no more than that he fully succeeded. The treaty he obtained in itself is no great thing; but it was the small end of the wedge; and, after all, sailors cannot be expected to finesse in diplomacy. Hardly was the ink dry with which this treaty was signed, when our much-to-be-lamented war with Russia broke out, and the Japanese found their islands, creeks, and inland seas used for a game of hide-and-seek played by the Russian and Allied squadrons. Everybody wanted treaties with the Japanese; and, in apparently a waggish humour, they gave us one in 1854, which must ever stand unique among such documents. It was, in vulgar parlance, a perfect "sell."

CHAPTER VII.

A STORM is at all times a scene replete with the sublime and beautiful, heightened in interest, to the sailor who is upon the sea at such a time, by the anxiety incident to the charge of his frail home, and the many lives dependent on his judgment and energy. But off an almost unknown coast, whose lofty and rugged line promised no lack of off-lying rocks, with the want of sea-room from the many islands and reefs surrounding us, it was the last thing we could have desired; but having come, we had only to do our best to meet the difficulties of our position. The Furious evidently thought so too, as she struggled against the wind, sea, and current that rushed down upon us as we neared the narrows of Van Diemen Strait. There was a glorious "abandon" about the tight frigate as she flung herself into the sea, and cut her way through the angry barrier which the storm made in her path, and rose with a spring, throwing off the foam and spray from her bows, which perhaps was more appreciated by the crew of the Furious than by her distinguished passengers, who, though capital sailors, would in these frolicsome moments occasionally express a preference for the shore, which was not to be wondered at.

There were certain symptoms about the gale now setting in, which betokened it was not a fair hard north-east breeze, nor one against which even a powerful vessel might struggle. There was far too much moisture, mist, and cloud, with a falling barometer, for that.

As we approached Cape Satanomi-saki, the sky and sea looked so wild that it was evident the sooner we reached a sheltered anchorage the better. The first impulse was to run up the gulf of Kago-Sima, then well open to the north of us; but it was totally unsurveyed, and if this gale veered into a typhoon or circular storm, we should find ourselves in an awkward predicament: the other resource was to find an anchorage close to and under the lee of the extreme end of the Japan group, and remain there while the storm raged from the direction of the Pacific, and, directly it veered so as to blow from the Chinese Sea, to dash out and do our best.

The long projecting tongue of high land forming the south extreme of Kiu-siu was steadily approached. Within a mile of the rocks there were no ordinary soundings to be obtained—closer still we went, keeping a sharp look-out for sunken rocks, many of which would peep out of the smooth-heaving sea, rear their weed-crowned heads as if to warn us off, and then sink again with a gurgle and whirl of foam. Down through valley and glen rushed fierce squalls of winds (or "willy-whaws," as sailors call them), which whisked the water into a sheet of foam, and made the tall ship reel like a cockle-boat. At last, close to the rocks, we obtained bottom in thirty fathom; but before the anchor could

be let go, it diminished to fifteen; we had then barely room to swing clear of the breakers.

Thankful to have found a good anchorage within three-quarters of a mile of the cape, we lost no time in making preparation for the gale which was so likely to veer to the south-west, and then what was now a friendly shelter would be a deadly lee-shore. Towards evening the Retribution and yacht Emperor were to be seen to the westward, looking for an anchorage likewise. When they sighted us their course was altered, and they eventually anchored near. Throughout the night the weather continued to look still more ugly and threatening, and the quicksilver in the barometer was what we call "pumping," rising and falling with an irregular undecided action. In all the squadron the sharpest lookout was kept, and, with the steam up, we were ready to start at a moment's warning; for if surprised by a typhoon in our position, its resistless rush and power would, we knew, throw us on the rocks in spite of our engines and anchors.

The coast upon the western side of Cape Satanomisaki or Tchichakoff, though bold, is not precipitous above the water-line; it consists of hills varying from one to two thousand feet in altitude, with rounded outlines covered to their summits with verdure. In all the valleys, and upon the sheltered hill-sides, many trees were seen, mostly pines; and there was a considerable amount of terrace cultivation. In every cove there nestled a hamlet, and out of almost every copse of wood peeped the thatch of a Japanese cottage. Not a mile from our ship there was a village of some size, situated in a little bay,

across the entrance of which the breakers now formed a barrier; and on its shingly beach we observed many boats hauled up, either on account of the weather, or for fear of the European ships that had so strangely visited their secluded haunts. The night came on dark and rainy, with no lack of wind; but through the storm we were amused to see numerous watch-fires lighted up along the coast, showing that the inhabitants were on the look-out. The effect of the flames against the wild sky heightened materially the strangeness of the scenery.

The 7th August brought no decided change of wind, and one might have been tempted to push out and fight the gale, but our limited quantity of coal rendered it necessary to husband the store, in order that our return to Shanghai might be insured; for owing to some vague idea that coal was procurable in Japanese ports, because coal-veins abound in Japan, no depot had been formed at Nangasaki for the service of the squadron.

In the afternoon a heavy ground-swell, rolling in from the south-east, indicated that the gale in the offing was veering, and soon afterwards the vessels were canted across the wind by a strong current setting into the Pacific Ocean from the Sea of China. This current, running counter to the gale still blowing, occasioned a frightful sea in the narrows between the Cape and Take-sima Island. It was remarkable that few, if any, sea-birds were seen in our sheltered position, whither, in such weather, birds, if numerous, would naturally fly; but this had been noticed by early navigators, and has not been accounted for. Stormy-petrels, and others of that strong-winged class, we occasionally saw. Can it

be that the exceedingly stormy nature of the seas around Japan force the common gull, and other such birds, to seek calmer spots to feed and breed in?

A story is told by either Siebold or Kæmpfer, that on one occasion the Governor-general of Batavia sent a cassowary to the Emperor through the factory of Nangasaki. It was returned, after some months' trial, with a message that it was "a big ugly bird, that ate a great deal and did no work, and that nothing so useless could be tolerated in Japan." Perhaps the sea-birds are excluded on the same utilitarian principle. A huge whale enlivened the scene by joining the squadron; and although it did not precisely anchor, it did the next wisest thing—it dodged about under the lee of the cape, blowing away, and waiting for better weather. Whales seem to suffer much in bad weather, as they must rise to the surface to breathe, and are consequently buffeted by the waves as if they were so many rocks; but Providence, in its wisdom, has endowed these creatures with wonderful sagacity, shown in running for shelter during storms. Throughout the Pacific Ocean, its thousand isles and reefs afford them havens; and in the polar seas the great belts of pack-ice enclose calm spaces wherein the whale finds shelter.

Occasionally through the wild-drifting clouds we caught glimpses of the remarkable volcanic cone of Horner Peak, and of many picturesque points in Kagosima Gulf: then, far in the interior, lofty mountains would stalk like ghosts out of their shrouds of storm-cloud, look upon us for a moment, and disappear, as with a roar the hurricane would burst out afresh,

enveloping everything again in mist, rain, and sea-drift.

Wilder night we have seldom seen than that of this Saturday. The black inhospitable coast, visible through all the storm in consequence of its close proximity, the angry sky, the roar of the gale, the lash of the breakers, which with phosphoric light brought out into startling relief every hidden danger and rocky buttress then close to us; and the sweep of the strait, where sea and wind were doing their worst, and that worst fast approaching us,—all formed a scene of wildest grandeur. One could not help thinking how feebly pen and pencil would convey, to those who have never witnessed them, an idea of such sights as these.

There is a sad tale of heroism told of some who landed on the adjacent shore which deserves to be repeated. In the year 1767, the zeal of a Roman Catholic missionary in the Philippines was roused by the sufferings of the martyrs who had perished in Japan and China. The Abbé Sidotti longed to win for himself a like crown of immortality, and, brave as he was good and enthusiastic, he determined upon throwing himself alone into Japan, with the hope of affording comfort to the persecuted remnant of Christians then said still to exist in Kiu-siu. For two years he studied Japanese at Manilla, where, as well as at Macao and Formosa, Japanese were to be found hopelessly cut off from their mother country. All the brave Sidotti asked was to be carried in a vessel to Japan, and secretly landed; for the rest he put his trust in God's mercy. The governor of the Philippines yielded to his prayer.

One evening in October 1769, a foreign bark approaches the coast near where the British squadron is now anchored. We see her in the dim light heave to, and at midnight a boat is stealthily rowed to the beach; in it we see the abbé, a veritable missionary indeed. He and a dozen companions disembark; they kneel in prayer before they part from the good priest; their hearts are touched—they will not leave him alone to meet the dangers and certain death which await the Christian intruder in Japan. No! by Santiago, no! Spain had not then sunk so low; and it is said that many of those who accompanied the abbé to the shore forsook all and followed this worthy successor of the Apostles. They exchanged their last farewells, and the devoted party watch the boat regain the ship which speeds on her homeward course, then calmly and resolutely they turn on their chosen way. They pass into the shade of the adjoining valley, but never more are heard of! They doubtless soon fell victims to their zeal for their faith, and the sword of the would-be exterminator of their creed was their sharp and short bridge to another and a better world; but assuredly, so long as men shall hold dear human courage and devotion in what they believe to be a righteous cause, will the memory of the Abbé Sidotti and his companions be cherished.

Soon after midnight an unnatural lull in the gale warned us to be off. The shrill pipe of the boatswain went instantly, the cable was rattled in as fast as possible, the steam got up, anchors stowed, and we started to fight our way into the Pacific. Down came the gale from the south. Whew! the good ship reels again to

it, then dashes on, as the engines begin to give her momentum. The centre of the storm was to the west of us, and it was certain we could not now get too soon to sea; so, at every risk, we *shaved* round the breakers of Cape Satanomi, and after two hours' hard tussle, felt we could again laugh at the storm. The ship's head was put to the east, and away like a sea-gull we flew. Those who had had the anxiety and watching of the previous twenty-four hours, felt now that it might blow as hard as it pleased, and could throw themselves down to rest. Noon of the 8th August found the Furious alone, kicking up her heels in a most unladylike manner, going eleven knots under treble-reefed topsails, the sky clear and bright, with a heavy following sea.

The Retribution and Furious were of that marvellous class called paddle-wheel steam-frigate—vessels so crank that neither could have fought a main-deck gun in a breeze—and the only objects attained by our main-deck ports was first to admit an immense quantity of water, in which the Ambassador's luggage was playfully washing about; and next, to compel the officers to live below in places which, for heat and smell, were little short of the Black Hole of Calcutta. However, it is folly to growl when growling is of no avail, and one may always go on half-pay if one does not like to go to sea; so we will leave the main-deck and enjoy the rush through the dancing blue seas of the great Pacific.

We were now off the Straits of Bungo, which divide Kiu-siu from Sikok Island; and here the lofty coast sheltered us, in a measure, from the full weight of the gale. On we went past both the Bungo and Kino

channels, that on either hand bound the island of Sikok, and communicate with that little-known yet extensive sea which is enclosed by that island and those of Kiusiu and Nīpon. In our charts it is called the Suwo-nada Sea. Perfectly land-locked, possessing three routes of communication with the external seas, it affords a ready means for the traffic from one part of the Japanese empire to the other: and we learn from the itineraries of the Dutch envoys and others who have passed from Nangasaki to Yedo by the native routes, that this sea is traversed by thousands of barks that could never expose themselves to the gales and heavy seas of the outer ocean. This Suwo-nada sea is nearly two hundred and forty miles long in an east and west direction, and varies from fifteen to sixty geographical miles in width; it abounds in islands, and affords anchorage throughout. Many great and important cities are situated upon its shores. The principal one, the spiritual capital "Miaco," is easy of access from it, and, with some dozen others that lie around the rich bay of Osaaca, forms the real heart of the Japanese empire.

We naturally longed to enter and open up this region, and trusted that, when Lord Elgin had visited Yedo, time might be found to allow of our returning to China through the Straits of Kino, and traversing the whole of the Suwo-nada.

Hope, however, is not prophecy, and we were doomed to be disappointed, as will hereafter be seen.

Noon of August 9th found us a long, long way from Cape Tchichakoff, a current of nearly two miles and a half per hour having set us away to the eastward, and

rather off shore. This was considerably more than we had been prepared for, although we knew that a regular current, exactly like the Atlantic Gulf-stream in character, would be found to be sweeping along the Pacific shores of the Japanese group: its increased velocity, as we experienced it, we fancy arose from the force of the gale from north-east having retarded its action somewhat, and that when the gale ceased, the pent-up waters naturally rushed for some hours with increased velocity in their old direction.

The Pacific Gulf-stream originates, like the one so well known in our hemisphere, in the warm and shallow enclosed seas about the equator. The China Sea may be said to be its birthplace, at least that southern portion of it enclosed between Malayia, Borneo, and Cochin-China; its course to the northward and eastward may be easily traced by the existence of coral and Sargasso weed; the former especially only exists off the coast of China, within the boundaries of the Gulf-stream's warm current. For instance, on the coast of China no coral is found from Hainan in latitude 20° N. to the northward, except at certain distances varying from fifty to a hundred miles off the coast, and by this we ascertain that the stream of warm water flows out between Formosa and the island of Luzon, sweeps the eastern coast of the former, embraces the Loo-choo and Linchousen groups, curves along the outer shores of Japan, and thence makes its way to the north, ameliorating the climate of Behring Straits, and especially that of north-western America.

This Asiatic Gulf-stream, however, has its attendant

evils, for it is the source of those fearful storms which do such an immensity of damage on the coasts of China, and give to Japan so bad a character amongst seamen: the hurricanes of the West Indies and rotatory storms of the North Atlantic, arising from similar causes, are alone to be compared to them in character and violence.

The weather rapidly cleared off during the afternoon of the 9th, which was the more welcome as we were fast nearing a chain of broken and dangerous islands of volcanic origin, named the Briceis or Broken Islands, across and through which the Gulf-stream sets with much violence. Our course was shaped for Cape Idsu, the extreme of a rocky promontory of Nīpon, a little beyond which the volcanic chain extends due south for a hundred and twenty miles. The stars came out bright, and the wind subsided in the early part of the evening, so that there would have been no necessity for more than ordinary watchfulness, had not the barometer, which stood at noon at 29.72, fallen steadily until by midnight it was only 29.25, or a tenth lower than during the worst weather we had yet experienced. There were causes for the condition of the atmosphere, and for this fall in the barometer, we have little doubt, for of all the middle watches we have kept we never saw one in which the heavens were so little at rest. It seemed as if the stars were changing their positions for pleasanter places in the heavens. From eleven that night until one in the morning hundreds of them shot overhead from the north-east to the west, their flight being plainly perceptible in an arc of sixty degrees, or thirty degrees on either side of the zenith. A magnificent meteor fell and

burst to the N.N.W., exhibiting for a minute the most brilliant blue and orange light. Then mysterious belts of cloud would unexpectedly rise in the north, and pass rapidly over us, to be succeeded as strangely by others from points of the compass ninety degrees apart. The heavens were fairly bewitched, for all this time there was little or no wind, and the sea was smooth except in the course of the current. Our engines were meantime rattling along, and we were so fast nearing our port of Simoda, that it mattered little what all these mysterious signs might mean. My own conviction is, that at the time we were remarking these strange sights, the storm we had escaped from was sweeping along the northern and western sides of Nipon, and that the high land of the interior sheltered us from its effects.

As daylight broke on the 10th August, a vigilant look-out was kept for Volcano Island, one of the Broken group, in case the current should have continued to run at its former rate, and carried us in sight of it. Just when a grey mare might have been discernible at half a mile's distance, a peak or conical island was seen rising sharp and clear out of the current-agitated sea—exactly on the bearing Volcano Island might have possibly been seen, though, by our observation, forty miles distant. Thinking at first that it must be the Volcano, and, if so, we were fast nearing the Redfield Rocks—a dangerous reef in this neighbourhood—the course was altered, as a precautionary measure, until sunrise. Presently the peak came out more and more defined, but looked every minute still more distant, until the rising sun revealed to us the fact that it was no island, but

the great Peak of Nīpon; and a glorious panorama of mountain, valley, and headland gradually unrolled itself at its feet.

The Peak of Fusi-hama—the Matchless Mountain, as the Japanese with just pride and affection love to style it—was at this time, as we afterwards discovered by close observation, no less than one hundred and ten miles off, and yet its summit is said to be only twelve thousand feet above the sea.

We neared Cape Idsu, a mountainous promontory, at the extreme end of which the port of Simoda stands; and if the Japanese had expected an invasion of their country by the countrymen of Commodore Perry, they could not have better foiled it than by inducing him to go to such a spot. It was decidedly picturesque, however, and under the effect of a fine unclouded day, with a blue sea sparkling and lashing itself up under the effect of a rattling west wind, the whole scene was one worthy of a painter's skill.

The Retribution and Emperor hove in sight, and we pushed on under a heavy press of sail and steam for Simoda. Early in the afternoon we reached it; and after going right round the bay, and poking into every corner to look for shelter from the ground-swell, we plumped the anchor down, having satisfied ourselves that, however pretty the bay might be, it was no fit harbour for a ship, and that the Japanese had decidedly weathered the Transatlantic Commodore when they palmed off such a spot upon him as one.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE last person to find fault with a port without good cause should be the seaman who has just reached one, however insecure, after having been tossed and shaken into a jelly by gales of wind in the open sea. On the shortcomings, therefore, of Simoda in all the requirements of a harbour for men-of-war, and much more for mercantile purposes, we shall abstain from dwelling. Its deficiencies were so apparent to Mr Harris, the American Consul-General, that, by treaty with the Japanese, he has resigned it for some safer and more convenient spot. Situated as it is on the extreme of a mountainous promontory which projects into the full sweep of the Pacific Gulf-stream, it is most difficult of access to sailing vessels, and lies in the most active volcanic region in Japan, if not in the world. Within sight of Simoda, the smoking crater of "Vries Volcano" serves as a beacon to remind the inhabitants by how precarious a tenure they exist upon the seaboard of the Idsu promontory. Only four years before our arrival, an earthquake, aided by terrible rollers from the sea, destroyed the town of Simoda and the greater part of its inhabitants. The Russian frigate Diana, commanded by the present Admiral Count Pontiatine, was at anchor in

the harbour at the time. She was wrecked; but her gallant captain and crew were saved to give us this account in graphic language of the horrors of that terrible December morning, and the heroic manner in which they stood to their shattered ship :—

"*H.I.M.S. Diana, in Simoda Harbour, December* 23, 1854.—Nine o'clock A.M.; light W.S.W. wind; bar. 29.27; ther. 7 deg. R. (47.75 deg. F.); weather clear and agreeable.

"At a quarter past nine, without any previous indication, the shock of an earthquake, which lasted two or three minutes, causing the vessel to shake very much, was felt both on deck and in the cabin. At ten o'clock a large wave was observed entering the bay, and in a few minutes Simoda was inundated, houses and temples swept away, while the junks before the town, forced from their anchorage, were seen floating in every direction, one knocking against another, cracking and sinking. In less than five minutes after this, the water was seen rising and bubbling, as if agitated by a thousand springs, carrying with it loam, straw, and other materials, receding and then returning with tremendous force, and completing the destruction of the town, boats, and junks. Our men were ordered to secure the guns and boats, and to shut the ports. During this short time the bay was covered with thatches and ruins, which had been carried away by the receding waters.

"At a quarter past ten the frigate was observed to drift, when the second anchor was immediately dropped. Notwithstanding this, however, the water, returning with greater velocity than before, forced her a second

time from her position. The whole town was now one vast scene of desolation; and out of about one thousand houses, only sixteen were standing. At this time a cloud of vapour was observed over the ruins, and the air was strongly impregnated with sulphurous acid.

"The sudden rising and falling of the water in so narrow a bay gave rise to numerous whirlpools, which caused the frigate to swing round with such rapidity that all on board became giddy. At half-past ten a junk was thrown against her with so much violence that it was smashed to pieces and sunk immediately. Ropes were thrown to the men to save them from drowning; but only two seized them, the rest, rushing into the cabin, chose rather to die than to violate the law of their country, which forbids them without permission to go on board a foreign vessel.

"An old woman also, in a small boat, was drifted alongside. She was quite insensible, and her rescue was not effected without several men being exposed to considerable hazard. But their exertions were successful; she soon recovered, and is still living.

"After the frigate had turned once more round, and approached within fifty fathoms of a rock, the whirling of the water became so violent that she was flung from one place to another, and in about thirty minutes turned no less than forty-three times round her anchor. During this time she was nearly smashed against a rocky island, but fortunately she just cleared it. At a quarter to eleven the third anchor was dropped, but it had not the effect of keeping her stationary; and when the sea receded, it left her on her side in eight feet of water. While

in this position it was impossible to stand, and all endeavoured to crawl to the upper side, fearing the effect of the next rise of the water. This speedily took place, and with great rapidity and violence, forcing the ship into the midst of the bay, and causing one of the guns to break loose, when it instantly killed one and wounded several others of the men. Another effect of this rush was manifest in the frigate's keel and rudder, which were now to be seen floating near her. The rising and falling of the water were very great, the depth varying from less than eight to more than forty feet; and these changes, at intervals of about five minutes, continued till noon, when it was discovered that there were thirty inches of water in the hold.

"At this time a perceptible diminution in the frequency and violence of the changes took place, and this opportunity was embraced, and every available effort made, to lessen the influx of water. But scarcely had half an hour elapsed, when, before these operations could have been completed, the rising and falling of the water became more violent than before.

"Between this time and a quarter past two, when the agitation again became much less, the frigate was left four times on her side; and once, while thus laid in only four feet of water, the upheaving of the ground was so violent as to force her past her anchors (the upper parts of which were visible) and back again to her former position.

"Continuing to decrease in violence and frequency, by three P.M. the agitation of the water, and the motion of the vessel consequent thereon, were very slow. She

now floated in twenty-five feet of water, but within her hold it was observed to be rising at the rate of thirty inches per hour. At this time a fresh west wind was blowing; the bar. stood at 29.87, and the ther. was 10°.50 R. (about 55°.63 F.) The bay was covered with ruins, on which men were seen walking; and at four P.M. we began to disentangle the anchors, the chains of which were so twisted that four hours were required to clear one of them.

"During the ensuing night a fresh S.W. wind blew, and the pumps were working twice an hour.

"We had now to obtain the consent of the authorities to our seeking a bay in which to repair the frigate, Simoda not being well adapted for this purpose. After some delay this was granted, and a suitable place was soon selected. Some necessary repairs having previously been made, we weighed anchor on the 13th January, and with a light wind left for the appointed place. The wind soon failed us, we were left drifting towards the breakers, and our position became one of imminent danger. But ere long a gale arose, and after approaching nearer and nearer the shore, all hope being abandoned, twenty fathoms were called out, and the anchor dropped.

"On the 15th and 16th there was less wind, but the water in the frigate rose to such a height that grave fears were entertained as to the possibility of saving her. The Japanese authorities sent a hundred junks to tow her to the bay, and on the 17th all hands were landed. This was not done without great difficulty (on account of the dangerous surf), which was particularly the case with the sick, who, wrapped in sails, had to be dragged

through it. Next day (18th) the junks took her in tow; not a single man was on board, and the water already half filled the gun-deck. After proceeding a few miles, a small white cloud appeared; on perceiving which, the Japanese; panic-stricken, cut their ropes and fled. This appeared strange to us, but a storm speedily justified the fears they had manifested. Had they delayed much longer, they would have been in great danger, and not improbably might have shared the fate of the frigate, which forthwith sank."

Such was the fate of the gallant frigate. Her crew and officers, I regret to say, were subsequently captured by the Allies, and treated as prisoners of war.

The new town of Simoda was being rebuilt when we were there. The ruins of a Japanese city are by no means imposing; wood, thatch, and a small modicum of bricks, constitute the materials generally employed in a country where a man may naturally expect to rebuild his house more than once in a lifetime. The spick-and-span new appearance of whole streets told its own tale; and the appearance of a formidable stone-faced breakwater, erected some feet above high-water mark, and fully thirty feet high, cutting off the pretty vale in which the town was situated from the waters of Simoda Bay, showed in what direction the greatest danger was anticipated, and whence they had suffered most during the late dreadful visitation.

Yet there was nothing in the appearance of the good folk of Simoda to lead one to suppose they fretted much about earthquakes, rollers from the sea, or the Vries Volcano. Every one looked as happy and free from care as

any people could do. The men welcomed us with a good-natured smile, and the women, young or old, seemed as curious to look at us as we were to look at them. Everybody appeared well to do—not a beggar was visible; possibly the earthquake had swept them off. Having described Nangasaki and its bazaar so fully, it would be mere repetition to dwell upon the bazaar of Simoda, further than to say that the articles here produced for sale were superior, and decidedly much cheaper. The restrictions upon direct buying and selling were attended with more inconvenience than at Nangasaki; for, having selected the articles to be purchased, they were carried to a government office, where their value in silver *itzibus* (a coin of the country, the value of the third of a dollar) was placed in a scale, whilst we had to pour into the opposite side of the balance an equal weight in Mexican dollars, plus a certain percentage to meet the expense of re-coining the foreign money. The government officers handed over to us our purchases, and gave the merchant credit for the number of *itzibus* due to him. All this machinery is set to work merely to prevent Europeans receiving Japanese money, and to guard against foreign coin being circulated in the country.

Provision has been made in the new treaty that will rid trade of all these nonsensical restrictions. It would be impossible for foreign merchants to trade under such a system, by which it is more than probable that the Japanese merchant is cheated, while he cannot know whether it is by the European or the native officials.

At Simodi, as at Nangasaki, every one seemed eternally to be taking notes of what everybody else was doing. Each Japanese had his breast-pockets full of note-paper, and a convenient writing apparatus stuck in his belt, and everything that was said, done, and even thought, was no doubt faithfully recorded. In Japan, men do not seem to converse with one another, except in formal set speeches; there is no interchange of thought by means of the tongue, but the pen is ever at work noting down their observations of one another. Sometimes we saw men comparing their notes, and grunting assent or dissent from opinions or facts recorded. At first we rather felt this as a system of espionage, but we soon became accustomed to it; and provided every man wrote down what he really saw and heard, it may be more satisfactory in the long-run to have to do with a nation of Captain Cuttles, who have "made a note" of everything, and so have more than their memories to trust to.

The Japanese plan of putting one man in a post of trust, and placing another as a check on him, is, after all, only our red-tape system in a less disguised form. The governor of Simoda has a duplicate in Yedo, who has to take turn and turn about with him in office, so that the acts of each whilst in authority serve as a check on the other. Then he is accompanied, wherever he goes, by one private and two public reporters, and the latter forward direct to Yedo particulars of all his acts. Their reports are in their turn checked by the counter-statements of the governor and his private secretary. Now compare this with the case of the captain of

H.M.S. ——, who requires a ton of coal, or a coil of rope, of the value of perhaps twenty shillings. The captain gives a written order for the purchase to be made, and two merchants must certify that the price asked is a just one, and what is the rate of exchange—to this the governor or a consul must bear witness. The captain next attests that the goods have been received and carried to public account, and this is countersigned by a lieutenant, the master, and another officer, who declare them to be fit for her Majesty's service. The vendor appends his signature as a receipt, and this has to be witnessed. Then a statement of what quantity of the same stores remained in the ship when the purchase was made, and why more were required, has to be signed by the captain and the officer in charge of them. Lastly, these documents are forwarded to the Commander-in-Chief, who signs and forwards them to the Accountant-General of the Navy. So to guarantee the honest expenditure, on behalf of the British public, of twenty shillings, the names of twelve witnesses are requisite, and the papers being in triplicate, six-and-thirty signatures require to be attached, and lodged in office!

Whatever may be the demerits of Simoda as a port for shipping, no one can deny it is an exceedingly picturesque spot, replete with glorious combinations of turf-clad valley and wooded crag, sharp-cut cliff and rocky cove, mountain and richly-cultivated plain. One most romantic-looking corner in this picture was somewhat marred by a stiff white flag-staff and the American ensign. Forgive me, oh my American cousins! for saying that Nature is not improved by stripes of red-and-

white bunting sprinkled with stars. From this corner of Simoda Bay the Consul-General of the United States made his appearance, and most warmly we welcomed a gentleman whose earnest endeavours and great personal sacrifices are likely to bring about such vast changes in the future history of Japan. Mr Harris seemed a man well fitted to be the pioneer of the energetic Republic of North America. Earnest, enthusiastic, and clever, he is gifted with that self-reliance which carries his countrymen over difficulties, whilst we more methodical slow-coaches sit down and reason upon them until the time for action is past. He has had great success in acquiring for himself the friendship and confidence of the people and officials of this jealous and exclusive empire. He had visited, with both eyes open and a liberal spirit, most parts of the world—and, happy man, the world had neither hardened his heart nor blunted his power of appreciating the good and beautiful wherever it might exist.

It was refreshing to hear his warm and sincere eulogiums of the Japanese people, though he did not go the length of attributing to them every transcendent virtue. He expressed a kindly and natural anxiety for the long course of misery and revolution that will most probably ensue, when the introduction of European civilisation and a different creed shall break down, and will not, at any rate at first, supply the place of, an existing system, which, so far as the material wants of the people are concerned, looks so perfect. The Consul had been much in our colonies and dependencies, and understood the Asiatic character well: he had been in Lucknow

when still independent, and had feasted with its sensual monarch and princes; he had shared in Otaheitian *holu-holus*, or native dances, and knew the missionaries and missionary-*eaters* of New Zealand. His admission to Japan with his secretary and interpreter, Mr Hewskin, was the result of the treaty obtained by Commodore Perry, which I have already mentioned. Having promised that an American consul should be permitted to reside at Simoda, the Japanese did not object when a man-of-war landed them, and sailed away; but they placed the Consulate on the opposite side of the bay to that on which the town was situated, and then watched the Americans closely.

Mr Hewskin, who was by birth a native of Holland, had acquired a knowledge of the Japanese language; and as many of the natives speak Dutch, good feeling was promoted by an interchange of little acts of kindness and consideration. Time wore at first very heavily with the two residents, and many long months passed before the face of a European gladdened their sight. Meantime the Dutch duly reported at Nangasaki, and, for purposes of their own, exaggerated the force and misrepresented the objects of the Allies in China. The Dutch superintendent, Mr Donker Curtius, thought to make great capital out of the alarm thus created in Japan, and obtain fresh concessions for Holland by a new treaty of commerce, and so maintain for her that priority of position which her exclusive monopoly for two centuries perhaps persuaded him she had a right to. Mr Harris, at the same time, was desirous to obtain like advantages for America; and in the autumn of 1857, by way of

playing off one against the other, the two diplomatists were directed to proceed to Yedo, there to make their respective representations.

It was during this journey to Yedo that Mr Harris saw through the motive of the Japanese in placing his countrymen at Simoda; for such was the truly Alpine nature of the country traversed before he reached the Gulf of Yedo, that any attempt of the Americans to penetrate by force into the interior must have resulted in the destruction of those who engaged in such a project. During the six months the American was in Yedo, nothing could exceed the kindness and care he experienced. He lived at the Imperial charge, special dishes were often sent him from the palace, and when from some cause there was an alarm in the city, a strong guard was sent to patrol the neighbourhood of his abode. It will be remembered that we learnt at Nangasaki that both Dutch and American commissioners had eventually left Yedo without obtaining any formally-signed treaty. Disappointed and worn out by his long and anxious labours, the energetic American fell seriously ill on his return to Simoda. This gave the Japanese an opportunity of showing how desirous they were to be kind, and to protect the stranger whom they personally liked so much. The Emperor deputed two court physicians to attend him, and gave them to understand that any mischance that might befall their patient would be attended with serious consequences to themselves—an authoritative hint to the faculty which was attended with the happiest results. Had Mr Harris been an only son, and had the two Japanese doctors stood in the relation of

papa and mamma to him, their solicitude for his recovery could not have been greater, nor the cure more rapid, owing to their unremitting attention and admirable nursing.

He had quite recovered when the steam-frigate Powhattan, with Flag-officer Tatnall on board, dashed into the quiet bay, and gave the startling intelligence of the occupation of Tientsin, and that on June 26th the proud Court of Pekin had submitted to the allied forces of France and England. It required no great prescience to see that the Allies would next visit Japan, and that if the Emperor did not with discretion and common-sense yield to circumstances, the visit would assuredly end in an imbroglio. The Consul, on board the Powhattan, proceeded immediately to Kanagawa, the seaport of Yedo. There he sought an interview with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and was invited again to the capital; and the information he gave must have startled the Japanese Court.

He urged that as America had taken the initiative in bringing Japan to enter again into communication with other nations than Holland, and as the general terms of a treaty had been agreed to, though not signed as yet, it was but fair that it should be fully concluded before the arrival of the English and French. The Japanese allowed the justice of the claim, closed with the Americans, and, on or about July 28, formally signed their treaty. Mr Harris was granted an interview with the Tai-koon, an amiable but sickly creature in the last stage of epileptic decay. Thus was won for the United States the honour of being the first nation to reopen

free commercial relations with Japan, after a lapse of two centuries of Dutch monopoly.

The American Consul was most willing to afford the British Ambassador every information and assistance, and allowed Mr Hewskin to accompany Lord Elgin to Yedo. Without this gentleman's services as interpreter, his Excellency would have had to compile his treaty in English, leaving him at the entire mercy of the native linguists, and would have felt a want which such Chinese scholars as Mr T. Wade and Mr H. N. Lay had ably supplied for him in China. Mr Hewskin* embarked in the Furious, and so excited all on board with his glowing accounts of Yedo, that late in the night found us still listening, and discussing its wonders.

The Governor of Simoda tried hard to persuade the Ambassador to embark a native officer as a cicerone. Both parties were, however, equally determined upon this point. Lord Elgin declined the honour of a visitor whose presence might be inconvenient; but at day-dawn, as we weighed anchor, it required sundry revolutions of the steamer's paddles to prevent our being boarded by an individual who had evidently made up his mind to go with us, though, in making his calculations upon that head, he had not taken into consideration the force of the water thrown off by the wheels of the Furious acting upon his boat. The next man-of-war steamer he tries to board he will better understand what he is about.

* This able linguist, we regret to say, subsequently perished by the hands of a Japanese retainer—one of the many victims to the ill feeling engendered of late by the cupidity of European traders, and our insolent contempt for the etiquette and prejudices of Eastern races.

It was in the early grey of the morning, on the 12th August 1858, that we weighed from Simoda, and steamed out into the tide-ripples, currents, and cross sea off its entrance. Daylight saw us going as hard as steam and sail would carry us to the northward. Vries Volcano, smoking and smouldering, rose out of the sea upon our right, and away to the left stretched Nipon, high, bold, and mountainous, with a coast-line very unlike what was laid down in our charts. Ahead in the far distance gleamed through the mist the headlands and points of the beautiful gulf to which we were bound. The breeze was fresh and fair, the sky bright, the sea blue and beautiful. All Nature seemed to rejoice, and to bid us rejoice with her; but as in the brightest day some cloud will yet be seen, so was it with us now. The bell tolled, the ensign drooped half-mast high, and we stood for a few minutes uncovered whilst the funeral rite was performed over the body of a young sailor before we committed it to the deep. He was our first death during an eighteen months' cruise in India and China; and it was strange that a funeral should occur at the moment of all others when hope and excitement were at their highest amongst us.

CHAPTER IX.

THE Japanese authorities were evidently determined, if official obstructiveness could stop us, to leave no effort untried to do so. Even in the open sea between Vries Volcano and the entrance of Yedo Gulf, two guard-boats succeeded in throwing themselves in our track. At first the officer of the watch innocently believed them to be fishermen, and, dreaming of turbot and mackerel, edged towards the boats, favouring the Japanese manœuvre. When almost under the ship's bows, up went the little square flags, and out popped upon the deck of each boat a two-sworded official, who, steadying himself against the excessive motion by placing his legs wide apart, waved frantically for the Furious to stop. The officer of the watch had directions to be perfectly deaf and blind for the next five minutes. The ship gave a sheer, and went clear of the boats by a few yards; they might as well have requested the Volcano behind them to cease smoking, as to yell for us to stop. Stop indeed! —why, the old ship knew as well as we did that the wind was fair and Yedo right ahead, and this accounts for her incivility to Japanese guard-boats, and her playful kick-up of the heels as she went through the water at a nine-knot speed. The last we saw of the two

officers was that one poor man performed a somersault, as his boat dived into a sea; and a somersault with two swords by his side, a queer-cut hat tied on *literally* to his nose, a shirt as stiff as if cut out of paper, and very bagging trousers, must be a feat not voluntarily gone through; while the other officer, who wisely had himself supported by two boatmen, continued to wave his arms, like an insane semaphore, so long as we looked at him. Poor fellows! we too knew what it was to suffer in performance of orders, and, giving them our hearty sympathy, we left these worthies to find their way back to their shores.

By nine o'clock we were fairly entering the limits of the Gulf of Yedo, and the freshening gale rendered our speed little short of ten miles an hour. It was a glorious panorama past which we were rapidly sailing, and the exhilarating effect of its influence upon all of us, combined with a delicious climate and invigorating breeze, was visible in the glistening eyes and cheerful looks of the officers and men, who crowded to gaze upon the picture that unrolled itself before us. The scenery was neither Indian nor Chinese, and presented more of the features of a land within the temperate, than of one touching the torrid zone. The lower and nearer portions of the shores of the Gulf resembled strongly some of the most picturesque spots in our own dear islands; yet we have no gulf in Britain upon such a scale as that of Yedo. Take the fairest portion of the coast of Devonshire, and all the shores of the Isle of Wight; form with their combined beauty a gulf forty-five miles long, and varying in width from ten to thirty. In every

nook and valley, as well as along every sandy bay, place pretty towns and villages, cut out all brick-and-plaster villas with Corinthian porticoes, and introduce the neatest *chalets* Switzerland ever produced—strew the bright sea with quaint vessels and picturesque boats; and you will have the foreground of the picture. For background, scatter to the eastward the finest scenery our Highlands of Scotland can afford—leave the blue and purple tints untouched, as well as the pine-tree and mountain-ash. Far back, fifty miles off, on the western side of the Gulf, amidst masses of snowy clouds and streams of golden mist, let a lofty mountain-range be seen, and at its centre rear a magnificent cone, the beautiful Fusi-hama, the "Matchless Mountain" of Japan;—and then, perhaps, the reader can in some way picture to his mind's eye the beauties of the Gulf of Yedo, in the loveliness of that bright day when it first gladdened our sight.

The freshening gale drove the ships, like sea-gulls, past the noble bluffs between Capes Sagami and Kamisaki. The latter, to which we approached within a thousand yards, was bristling with batteries and swarming with guard-boats, of which several, with officers and linguists on board, pushed off, and tried their best, by signals, to induce us to stop. We only gave ourselves time to note that the promising little port of Uragua was full of native vessels, and that here shelter might be very likely found, if the anchorage in the Gulf proved insecure. Guided by the excellent map and chart of Commodore Perry, we hauled in for the western shore to avoid a dangerous shoal called by the Americans Saratoga Spit, and then bore away north. We sighted rapidly,

one after the other, the various points and headlands mentioned by Perry, and recognised Treaty Point, near which the American treaty of March 31, 1854, was negotiated.

In the Bay of Kanagawa, an extremely pretty indentation upon the west coast, just beyond Treaty Bluff, we saw at anchor the Russian frigate Esvold, and a despatch gunboat. The former we knew had on board his Excellency Count Pontiatine, the Russian plenipotentiary; and he was doubtless busily labouring, on behalf of his imperial master, amongst the treaty-bewildered Japanese.

The Furious was in ten fathoms water, and it seemed quite unreasonable to haul out of the highroad to the capital and anchor at Kanagawa, because other people had done so. With the sanction of Lord Elgin, the Furious and Retribution bore away for Yedo. Mr Hewskin, the interpreter, had, whilst accompanying Mr Harris in his last visit to Yedo, been carried on one occasion in a small Japanese steamer from Kanagawa to the capital; but from his observations upon that occasion, he was led to believe that extensive mud-banks barred the approach to the city. Yet he suggested, what we found to have been the case, that the Japanese officers had taken the vessel by a very shallow route expressly to mislead the new-comers.

Rattling along amongst fleets of native boats of all sizes round the shallows of Beacon Point, we went off the American chart on to really unknown waters, for the maps of Siebold and Kæmpfer give a very incorrect coast-line, and merely guided us to the north-west corner of the Gulf, as the site of Yedo. On a very clear day

from Beacon Point the southern suburb of Yedo, named Sinagâwa, may doubtless be visible, as well as the hills situated within the limits of the city itself; but the strong gale before which we were blown, had caused a haze that hid all from us, except the outline of some low hills to the north-west. Directly we were clear of the shoals, and that the land appeared to recede from us, we hauled in for it, and presently we saw four square-rigged vessels riding at anchor under the land. When they bore N.W. by compass, we steered for them. The soundings commenced to diminish steadily, but it mattered not, for where there was water for those vessels there must be very nearly enough for us, and at any rate the bottom was a nice soft unctuous mud if we did happen to stick our keel in it. Our hopes were not doomed to be disappointed, for up out of the sea, and out of the mist, rose one startling novelty after another. Huge batteries, big enough to delight the Czar Nicholas—temples—the Imperial palace—Yedo itself curving round the Bay—all for the first time looked upon from the decks of a foreign man-of-war! The four square-rigged vessels proved to be Japanese men-of-war, and when we had brought them, as well as the batteries, thoroughly under command of our guns, the Furious and the Retribution anchored in twenty-four feet water, as well as the little yacht Emperor, that under a press of sail and steam had been fruitlessly trying to overtake the larger vessels, since we entered the Gulf.

Shade of Will Adams! at last the prayer of the earnest old sailor, that his countrymen might reap wealth and advantage from commercial relations with Japan,

was about to be fulfilled! Two hundred and fifty-eight years had elapsed since he and his half-wrecked ship had lain near the very spot in which we were; and now his countrymen had come in earnest. They held the empire of the East, and had won the wealth of all the Indies; and the arms of England, and the skill of her Ambassador, had thrown down all the barriers set up by China against foreign trade or intercourse. Great Britain, in those two hundred and twenty-five years which had intervened since her cessation of commerce with Japan, had carefully paved the way to the point at which it was no longer possible to tolerate the exclusiveness of an important and wealthy empire; and an English squadron and an English Ambassador were now off the capital of Japan, the bearers, it is true, of a message of good-will, but yet to show, in a way not to be mistaken, that the hour had arrived for Japan to yield to reason, or to be prepared to suffer, as the Court of Pekin had done, for its obstinacy. What Japan had of her own will conceded to America, England merely demanded for her subjects.

A strong gale blowing direct upon the shore prevented all communication during the afternoon, and gave us ample time to consider the four Japanese vessels which rode at anchor close to us. Could one of them be the Erasmus, the "talle shippe" of stout Admiral Jacques Mayhay? Impossible! but then this ship must have been built on the model of that, or possibly on that of the craft of eighty tons which Will Adams tells us he had to construct during his detention in Yedo: he, poor fellow, being neither shipbuilder nor carpenter! To

add to the grotesqueness of this ghost of a ship of ancient days, it was painted of a lively red throughout. We afterwards learnt that this quaint argosy, as well as another one painted black, which seemed to have a strong tendency to float on her broadside, were objects of great pride and self-complacency with some very high Japanese authorities, as proofs to what perfection native shipbuilding had arrived, though there were some who thought that the sum of money thus wasted would have paid for two line-of-battle ships in Europe. The other two vessels under Japanese colours had been purchased from the Dutch: one was a paddle-wheel steamer, the other a screw; both tolerably armed, and looking efficient, and entirely manned and officered by natives.

Towards evening the breeze was still so fresh that only one Japanese boat had left us for the shore, with a communication from Lord Elgin to the authorities. A cloud of government boats were seen coming up the bay, and we learnt, as they each boarded and worried us to death with questions, that they were the guard-boats that ought to have boarded and reported upon us at the many stations in the Gulf. They had had a long sail, and had a long way to go back; yet they were rather inclined to laugh than to be cross at the wicked trick we had practised upon them. Among the first to board us was Yenoske, a linguist of inferior rank, who had some knowledge of the English language, and had been stationed a long way down the Gulf to intercept us. He had had nearly a thirty miles' chase after us, yet laughed heartily after he got on board at the joke, and spoke of our proceedings as in the highest degree original, suggest-

ing at the same time that, in our haste, we had made a mistake, which would of course be rectified on the morrow by our going back to Kanagawa! It was our turn to laugh now, but Yenoske still smiled, no doubt determined to think it very improbable we should remain where we were; and so we left him to collect answers to all the questions his report upon our ship required.

Mr Hewskin came on deck, and Yenoske's bright eyes glittered with delight as he recognised an old acquaintance. The puzzled physiognomies of many guard-boat officials brightened up as they hailed the well-known figure of the only European that had been seen in the city of Yedo who could speak Japanese; and with all of them it seemed to unravel the perplexity they were in, as to why we came beyond Kanagawa. It was clearly Hewskin who had brought on them this visitation! One of these mare's-nest-seekers lighted upon the strange-shaped palanquin in which Mr Harris had been seen in Yedo. A *posse* of them walked round it, measured it, examined it, peered into it, assured themselves by argument that it was the same; and then one old gentleman, who must have been a fac-simile of the one who unravelled the Gunpowder Plot, called Yenoske aside, and, pointing at the mysterious chair, looked most ominous things. Yenoske returned to us, surrounded by the reporters, and suggested in blandest tones that no doubt Mr Harris was below. No! Well, then, he was somewhere on board? No, was still the reply; but we laughed so immoderately, and Yenoske joined so heartily, that we feel sure every one entered in their note-books that Mr Harris was secreted somewhere on board the

Furious; and possibly they found some comfort in the supposition. Yenoske left us soon after, with some missive for the city authorities. He proved to be an excellent little man, very civil and obliging, and, as the medium of intercourse between the Embassy and the English officers and the natives, showed wonderful tact and zeal, as well as great aptitude in improving his knowledge of our language.

Long after it was dark, and just as all were retiring to rest, a large boat, carrying handsome lanterns, was reported to be approaching. To the hail of our sentry came the ready response, "A government boat!" She came alongside, and when the occupants were invited on board, a person walked up, bowed and introduced himself in very correct English as "Mori-hama;" then turning to Hewskin, shook him warmly by the hand. We remembered the name as that of the able interpreter spoken of by Perry. On accosting him, a fear was slyly expressed that our arrival must have put them to much inconvenience to occasion him to be about at so late an hour. Mori-hama acknowledged that it was so, for that we had rushed up the bay "like the wind." He had been despatched to Kanagawa to meet us when our entry in the bay was signaled; but before he got there we had passed, and he had but just returned to be sent off upon his present mission. Mori-hama then threw in some alarming hints as to the insecurity of our present anchorage—the shallowness of the water—the want of supplies—in fact, many things that should start us back again. After this he began talking Dutch to Mr Hewskin in a very abrupt manner. We ventured to remark, that

now that he was dealing with Englishmen, it would be better to adhere to their language, which he spoke so fluently. "Ah! of course," said he, laughing, "and I always desire to converse in English, but Hewskin will speak Dutch;"—a quick reply, but more quick than veracious. After pretending to be utterly surprised at this sudden arrival of the Ambassador, he betrayed incidentally that a much-exaggerated report of the size of the British squadron likely to visit Japan had come up from Nangasaki; and he left the ship, leaving behind him a very favourable impression of his address and ability. We have been thus prolix in describing our first interview with these two Japanese interpreters, in order to show how well, in Mori-hama and Yenoske, the Japanese Government was prepared to hold intercourse with England, and with what advantage to themselves.

Early next day, August the 13th, we weighed and moved to an anchorage between the Japanese men-of-war and their own batteries, where we had just water enough to float at low tide. This operation over, we were able, now that the weather had moderated, to scrutinise the town, situated at the head of a bay in the north-west angle of the Gulf of Yedo. The bay is formed by two low projections of land, named respectively Beacon Point by the Americans, and Court Point by ourselves, after Mr Stephen Court, my gallant and energetic master of the Furious. It is seven miles wide, and about as many deep, the water shoaling gradually up to the front of the city, where a bank of sand and shells, having only seven feet water upon it at high water, extends off shore to the distance of a mile, though

there is a channel with deeper water, fit for native vessels, leading through this bank, and communicating with the river Toda-gawa. Along the seaward edge of this bank a series of formidable batteries has been constructed, starting from the point where the city of Yedo proper joins the suburb of Sinagawa, upon the west side of the bay. The original idea was a most ambitious one, to front the entire city at the distance of a mile with a double row of these detached fortresses, the inner line covering with their fire the interstices left in the front. Either the cash failed, or more sense came to their aid; at any rate, only about one-half of Yedo is thus screened with forts. Nearly the entire circumference of the beach in this bay is artificially embanked, as if to guard against the action of volcanic rollers. In other places immediately upon the sea-face of the city, these embankments, which must have been constructed many years ago, for they are covered with a fine green turf, and have many noble trees growing upon them, served the double purpose of a screen from the sea, and a fortification against any enemy who might arrive by way of the ocean. Queer enough in all conscience were some of these batteries, and the most formidable thing about them was the number of guns. Here, as we had remarked at Nangasaki, there was, on the part of the Government, the most wanton expenditure of cash in cannon any Eastern people were guilty of.

The city of Yedo, and its two southern suburbs, Sinagawa and Omagawa, curve round the bay for nearly ten miles; and subsequent comparison of our remarks upon its extent landward, with a native plan, now in the pos-

session of Mr Laurence Oliphant, Lord Elgin's private secretary, confirmed the belief that the area of Yedo might be considered as a square, every side of which was seven miles long. Of course the whole of this area is not closely built over; indeed, in no capital that we know of has more care been taken to preserve fine open spaces, especially round the palaces of their emperor and princes, and the neighbourhood of their temples and tea-houses, both of which are the constant resort of all classes in Yedo. Within the limits of the city are several hills of moderate elevation, as well as gentle slopes; in all cases they were but thinly built upon, and extensive gardens, with many magnificent trees, principally adorned their sides. On a hill which rises from the heart of the city and from a mass of densely-crowded buildings, the imperial palace is built, surrounded with a crenellated wall, half hidden by green banks and shady trees, within whose limits the ruler of this kingdom is immersed for life, as the sad penalty of his high position. The houses look very neat and comfortable, and are principally of wood, stone and brick being avoided as much as possible, in consequence of the frequency of earthquakes. No walls enclose the city, whose site is admirably adapted to admit of almost unlimited increase in extent, without interfering with drainage, supplies, intercommunication, or ready access to the waters of the bay, which insures to those living upon its shores cleanliness, sea air, and an easy highway. A river, the Toda-gawa, flows through the heart of Yedo; we could see one fine bridge spanning it near its mouth, and there are two others farther up. Besides the Toda-gawa, some

smaller streams intersect the town and suburbs. The absence of all imposing edifices, and the general want of elevation in the ground upon which the city stands, render the view from the sea by no means imposing; but its extensive sea-front, the throb of life evident in the fleets of boats and vessels passing and repassing, the batteries and guns which frowned upon us, the hum as of a multitude at hand that was borne to our ears when the breeze came off the land, all impressed us with the fact that we were at anchor off one of the largest capitals of the world.

In the afternoon four officers, deputed by the Japanese Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, waited upon Lord Elgin. Mori-hama was their master of the ceremonies, aided by Mr Hewskin. They were received by the officers and a guard of honour, and Mori-hama was asked if they would object to the salute, and replied that the Commissioners would like it very much, mentioning the number of guns to which they were entitled. Our visitors would furthermore have liked us, they said, to salute the national flag of Japan with twenty-one guns; but as our salute could not be returned, the subject was dropped.

The Commissioners then had their interview with Lord Elgin, and being one in which no state secrets were to be discussed, they were allowed to take into the cabin their usual retinue of reporters. Each Commissioner had a scribe, who upon his behalf wrote down most minutely all that was said and done during the interview; then there was a government reporter, who wrote his version of the same story; and besides this,

there was an individual who was all eyes and ears, to report verbally upon both scribes and Commissioners. After a few complimentary and commonplace preliminaries, the business they had come about began. They first wished for some particulars as to Lord Elgin, his rank, titles, and office. They seemed to understand that he could be the Earl of Elgin, but where was his Lordship of Kincardine? And when their error was explained, they enjoyed the joke as much as any one. Then they wanted to induce Lord Elgin to go back to Kanagawa, and land there, as all the other ambassadors had done. To this they got a firm refusal, yet each Commissioner in succession offered some childish arguments upon that head. It appeared to me that they talked as much for the reporters as with any hope of attaining their object. After discussing some other minor points, the party adjourned to lunch, where, in conversation and in manners, the Commissioners showed themselves gentlemanly well-bred men. Mori-hama, whose rank obliged him to be on his knees before his superiors during the transaction of business, was now allowed to take his place as the guest of the Ambassador; and from his experience in lunches and dinners with Americans and Russians, he was a very useful fugleman to his less expert masters in handling knife, fork, and spoon. In answer to some remark that Yedo Bay was a remarkably fine one, one of the Commissioners asserted that it was very insecure as an anchorage, yet could not explain under such circumstances why the Japanese men-of-war and so many native vessels rode at anchor in it. They bemoaned the im-

possibility, in consequence of our distance from the shore, of getting off the supplies we so much needed, and urged that at Kanagawa* bazaars and stores had been established for the express purpose of supplying the Americans and Russians. The consolation offered in reply was, that if the supplies reached the beach, we could embark them ourselves; and if they did not come to the beach, we could always send ashore to purchase them—*ergo*, Yedo suited us just as well as any other place in Japan. They neither wished our boats to land on the beach, nor that we should go on shore and run about to make purchases, consequently the difficulty about our supplies was overcome.

The Lee gunboat came in next morning, August 14th, having escaped destruction by a perfect miracle in the heavy gale of August 6th. Lieutenant-Commander Graham had, like ourselves, sought shelter from the weather by anchoring off the coast of Kiu-siu Island, but was less fortunate in finding a spot from whence to escape when necessary. The wind, when it veered upon the night of the 7th, found his little craft deeply embayed, and for many hours during the 8th August she was in imminent peril. Her arrival caused some sensation, and Yenoske asked whether the number eighty-two painted upon her bow in figures two feet long,† had

* Kanagawa, fifteen miles southward, a spot often before mentioned. The Americans having accepted it as the seaport of Yedo, our constant difficulty in this land of precedents was to avoid being thrust into it likewise.

† It is usual in the navy to distinguish gunboats by some peculiar colour of funnels or bulwarks, and in China ours had a distinguishing number painted upon them.

anything to do with the great fleet of eighty-four British and French vessels that a Nangasaki report (to which we have before alluded) had led the Japanese to suppose was likely to visit Yedo? The number eighty-two upon the bows of the Lee seemed like a confirmation of the rumour.

At ten o'clock that night the ships were rocked for a minute or two in a very strange manner, and trembled as if with some sudden shock. The sea was smooth at the time, and there was nothing in the weather to account for the motion. We therefore supposed it was occasioned by some volcanic action, as the keel of the Furious at the time happened to be touching the mud. Those who had experienced earthquakes on board a ship in South America, fancied they recognised the motion.

August 15th brought off the Japanese Commissioners to make final arrangements as to Lord Elgin's mission; and, after a long conference, they left, having yielded the point that his Excellency might land in Yedo and remain there whilst negotiations were pending; indeed, it appeared that they had prepared a house, and at 10 A.M. on the morrow, the Ambassador would be escorted to the proper landing-place by persons deputed for the purpose. It became likewise generally public that Count Pontiatine, the Russian Ambassador, was in Yedo, having arrived in a native palanquin from Kanagawa, in a very quiet manner, upon the self-same day that our squadron anchored off the city.

The anticipated disembarkation of the Ambassador, upon the 16th August, was postponed by heavy rain; but some of the gentlemen attached to the Embassy,

who, like landsmen, would fain get ashore at any price, went boldly in spite of wind and wet. They returned in the evening wiser and sadder men. The Japanese boat which conveyed them from the ship took them to the beach of the suburb of Sinagawa, where they had to get ashore in small punts, and march up to a tea-house kept by a lady, more fair than saintlike, and then they were shown the proposed residence of our Ambassador, which was not in the city of Yedo, and was in every way unfitting. Mr Hewskin, who had landed with the members of the suite, saw what an escape Lord Elgin had had from one of those petty affronts by which the Japanese, like the Chinese, seek to compensate themselves for concessions wrung from them by force or argument. He caused the whole of the programme, so far as the Japanese part of the landing was concerned, to be entirely changed. A series of buildings, within the enclosure of an imperial temple, situated in the city, were selected for the residence of the British Embassy; and this, though far from a very gorgeous turn-out, had the merit of being situated in Yedo, and near a reputable part of it. To prevent all cavil as to where his Excellency was to land, a wharf, from whence the high officers of state embarked, was selected as our point of communication likewise.

Tuesday, the 17th August, came in a glorious day to pay honour to the entry of the first British Ambassador to Japan since the year 1613, when the envoy of James I. was favourably received by the then reigning emperor. Captain Barker had arranged that, without letting the Japanese into the secret of our proceedings, the landing

should be effected in the most solemn and imposing manner befitting the representative of our beloved sovereign, and so thoroughly to foil the plan, accidentally discovered on the previous day, of making Lord Elgin's entry into Yedo a hole-and-corner affair, unaccompanied by pomp and ceremony. The boats of the squadron were prepared, manned, and armed; the Retribution contributed her band; the ships were dressed with flags, and when all was ready, the Ambassador on board the Lee, accompanied by a perfect flotilla of our boats, proceeded towards the batteries. The Japanese officer and Yenoske, who had been sent off to escort his Excellency to the shore, were much struck by all these preparations; they even ceased to take notes, which was a serious sign.

The Lee threaded her way carefully towards an anchorage used by the native craft. Yenoske pointed out to Commander Graham a different route between two of the outer batteries, where the Lee would have certainly run aground, but his friendly suggestion was not adopted. Within the line of batteries the Lee was obliged to anchor; the procession of boats now formed, the galleys of the squadron with their commanders led in double column all the pinnaces and cutters, with the officers of the respective ships dressed in full uniform. Astern of these, followed one of the launches carrying the band; then came the barge in which was embarked the Ambassador. Another large launch followed in the rear of the barge, and the launches of the Furious kept at a convenient distance upon either side, to prevent his Excellency being crowded upon by native boats. As we

have before said, there was real "Queen's weather" to set off to the best advantage the show. The ships dressed with bright-coloured flags, the boats with their gay pendants and ensigns, and laden with men and officers in gayest attire, and the boom of our ships' guns, had attracted a vast throng of human beings, who clustered in every open space whence a view of the procession was to be obtained. The boats crossed the shallow bank, and approached the official landing-place, where the Earl of Elgin disembarked, while the band played "God save the Queen." As for the Japanese officials, they looked as if lost in wonder and astonishment that such things should be in the capital of Tai-Nipon. The officers of the squadron remained on shore to escort the Ambassador to his palanquin, and that done, all returned to the ships.

We shall now give our desultory notes upon Yedo, without reference to dates. It was essential, in the first place, that the ships should establish, as early as possible, entire freedom of communication with the shore. This, so far as we were concerned, was easily carried out, but we observed that boat-loads of people, who had put off from the shore to visit the squadron, were intercepted and sent away by the Japanese guard-boats, which haunted the vicinity of the ships. It was a delicate point to interfere with the Japanese police-laws in their own port, but we longed for an opportunity of reading them a lesson. After dark, a small boat was seen hovering round the ship; the sentry, tired of getting no answer to his challenge, ceased to notice her, and she gradually crept up until the officer of the watch observed

the crew hook her on to the rudder-chains of the Furious. Anxious to see to what lengths their impertinence would carry them, they were left unmolested. Every now and then, if a fisherman's boat approached the ship, they stealthily went towards him, and sent the poor fellow away from us.

At last a small boat, pulled by one man, came to the Furious from the Lee, and the guard-boat, mistaking her for a countryman, almost ran her down before the error was discovered. The English sailor expressed himself in rather strong vernacular, and the guard-boat again coolly returned to her station under our stern, where her capture was easily effected. There were eight persons in her. The crew and one officer were in uniform, and armed with swords, and there was a spy, and also a priest. The latter was evidently there as an amateur, and seemed more distressed than the others at the scrape they were in. They were unceremoniously bundled out of their boat, and had it lucidly explained to them that shooting was the fate that they at least merited. The spy commenced to speak a few words of Dutch, which none of us understood: and he, with equal ill success, wrote them down upon paper. In order that they might repent at leisure of their misdeed, they were sent into a corner of the quarterdeck behind the pivot-gun, to await judgment in the morning; and by the length of their faces, they evidently fancied that there was little hope left in what the morrow would bring.

The priest especially deprecated our wrath, and, producing some cakes out of one pocket, and a sakee or wine-cup out of the other, showed by unmistakable pan-

tomime that he had joined the spy and officer in their cruise afloat, for the purpose of having a jolly picnic in their boat. The whole party were, however, with the usual summary justice of the quarterdeck, classed together, and a grim marine mounted sentry over them; the quantity of beard, mustache, and whisker in which the British soldier revelled, adding still more to the alarm of the prisoners—who, except in their most terrible legends, had never heard of such hairy men. After a while, just as a Japanese vessel happened to be passing close to the ship, the spy jumped up, and with wonderful volubility bawled out to his countrymen his tale of alarm and probable suffering. Before the last words had passed his lips came the heavy tread of the royal marine, and as he gave him a shake, said—"Come, darn ye! come, none o' that!—can't ye go to sleep instead of bawling that fashion?" and then followed a mimic rehearsal of sudden death by bayonet.

In the morning, we were satisfied that the warning had not been thrown away upon our Japanese friends, who made signs that, after sundown, they would never again attempt the vagaries of last night: they were allowed to return to their boat. After that we were not again troubled with guard-boats after dark, and those that haunted the vessels during the day did it most covertly. There was only one form of this nuisance which it was impossible to shake off—that of a man-of-war's boat pulling about the bay after any of ours which were employed surveying. They in no way interfered, except to request we would not land in that part of the city immediately about the mouth of the river Toda-

gawa; and as we really could not insist upon our right to sound or to take angles in their port, their wish was not opposed.

Such a system of supervision went, however, sadly against the grain with us, and the seamen seemed to take a savage delight in giving the Japanese boats mercilessly long pulls;—but go from one side of the bay to the other, leave them miles behind, dodge them round points or batteries—and yet it was a fallacy to suppose we had shaken off that eternal Japanese guard-boat, with the officer of two swords, whose hat was tied on under his chin with a bow of ribbon such as ladies might have envied, and whose temper seemed as imperturbable as his notes upon us and our doings seemed voluminous.

One explanation of this system of espionage we received from an extraordinary fellow whom we knew by the name of the "Scoundrel." He held some office in the native dockyard, and hailed for a Japanese, and dressed as one, but he spoke English exactly as American negroes do, combined with the strongest nasal twang of the low-born Yankee. This person, the first day we saw him, in reply to a question as to the motive the Japanese had in thus chasing our boats about, declared that their sole object was to prevent any rupture between ourselves and the people living near the sea-shore. "Nonsense!" we replied; "why, the people are civility itself; and if they do crowd upon us, it is from harmless curiosity, which we should never resent." He declared that the people were unaccustomed to see strangers, and had great contempt for every one but their own countrymen, and that we were not aware how savage and brutal

(such were his expressions) many of the people were. In spite of this, the impression upon our own mind still is, that the police-officers simply followed our boats to prevent any communication between us and the people.

The Japanese officers having acquired their professional knowledge under Dutch instructors, whose language was as unintelligible to us as that of Japan itself, there was an insurmountable barrier between them and ourselves. We consequently saw but little of each other, yet that little raised them very much in our estimation, and their acquaintance with the theory of their profession was highly creditable. The officer who appeared to be at the head of their squadron, and who figures now as one of the Commissioners who concluded the treaty of Yedo with Lord Elgin, under the title of Nunghi-gunbarno-Kami,* showed great knowledge of the parts and uses of the marine steam-engine. If it was true, as we heard, that this same "proud admiral" had actually conducted that remarkable native-built frigate, the Ghost, to sea, he deserved well of his country, and merited, possibly, the title some Americans had given him, of Lord High Admiral, a title which Mori-hama also informed us was really his due.

* We may be wrong in the orthography, but we spell his name just as it was pronounced, premising that "Kami" is a title of courtesy.

CHAPTER X.

At the Embassy, where we hear affairs are progressing rapidly, it is arranged that the yacht is to be delivered over to the Japanese on the day of the signature of the Treaty. The Lieutenant-Governor of Yedo has all the Embassy under his especial care, and either in person, or by deputy, never loses sight of a single Englishman in Yedo. This pleasant office is compulsory, and he is held responsible for the good conduct and moral behaviour of every one of us; if we behave well, and do not sin against the laws of Japan, he will be rewarded on our departure —if otherwise, on him, not on us, will fall the reprimand and disgrace. Poor Lieutenant-Governor, we wish him well through his trials. A horse is to be in attendance to-morrow forenoon at the landing-place, and an officer to conduct us to the Embassy; we pack our portmanteaus, and do not omit to take with us every available dollar to invest in lacker-ware and in little dogs, which are reported to be perfectly beautiful. The morning proves as fine as we could desire; we rise at day-dawn to see the bay before the glare and haze of sunlight mar it. As the silver dawn spreads over the land and water, we see that lovely mountain, Fusi-hama, the type of the beautiful to the whole Japanese nation. She steps like

a coy maiden from her veil and her robes of cloud, to gaze upon all the loveliness spread at her feet; the scene lasts but a few minutes—we would it could have been for ever—but the bold sun leaps upon the crests of the eastern hills, and Fusi-hama retires blushing from his fierce gaze. The bay and beach are quickly alive with moving beings, hundreds of fishing-boats skim the water, pressing in with the last of the night-breeze to secure an early market. The number of full-grown men in each boat attests the redundancy of the population: stout, athletic fellows they are, smooth-skinned, bronze-coloured, and beardless, but their large muscles and deep chests attest the perfection of their physique. They look at us without fear or distrust, and as they bend to their oars shout out some joke or salutation. The morning breeze is cold and damp, the sun has not dispelled the low thin mist creeping along the surface of the bay from the lowlands to the north, and we are wearing blue clothing with comfort; yet all the boatmen are naked, with the exception of a small blue waist-cloth, and another strip of material tied tight over the nose!

Why do the Japanese tie up their noses? we have often asked, for one cannot but believe that there is some good reason why a naked man should voluntarily lash up his nose. Can a Japanese nose be a fractious feature? or is it that noses require to be much taken care of in Japan? or may it not be that there is some security in this precaution against inhaling malaria? We leave the question to be decided by future visitors, and content ourselves with the entry in our journal: *Mem.*

In Yedo it is the custom afloat to tie up the nose, and wear but few garments.

Now, having breakfasted, we proceed to the landing-place. It is low water, shoals of boats and great numbers of men are at work in the shallows. Many are lading their boats with cockle-shells, scraped up from the bank, to burn into excellent lime; others are dredging for shell-fish; some are hauling the seine. Here our observations are interrupted by a spy-boat pulling alongside my galley, and the officer coolly requesting by signs a seat in our boat. We are frank with him, and recommend him to go to the ——. He smiles, shoves off, and makes a note of our brief interchange of civility. Parties of respectable citizens, oily sleek men, of a well-to-do appearance, are embarked for a day's pleasure on the water; their children are with them, and every urchin has a fishing-line overboard. We thought of Mr Briggs—Punch's Mr Briggs—at Ramsgate. In another boat a lady is seated with her children; her dress betokens that she is of the better order; her family are laughing, and trying to cook at a brazier which stands in the centre of the boat, whilst she sits abaft in the most matronly manner, and points out to one of her daughters what she deems most worthy of notice in our unworthy selves, our boat, and boat's crew. The young lady, we are glad to observe, without being unladylike, showed none of that suspicious fear of the genus Man so general in the excessively modest East; which betokens even a better state of social civilisation than we had been led to expect by what we witnessed at Nangasaki. So we let the boat drift to enjoy all this, and, as a natural conse-

quence, drift on shore close to the town. The police or spy-boat immediately works itself into a fever, and the officer is most anxious we should know where the deep water leading to our landing-place is to be found. To add to the fun, all the little boys and girls of the adjoining houses turn out, and come scampering down. The police-officer is in an awful state; he urges them back, waves his fan, expostulates with them; but it is all equally useless: so long as our boat remains on the mud, so long does young Japan remain staring into her and at us. The crowd did not, as an English mob of boys would have done, pelt and chaff the officer, and we therefore had reason to praise their civility. After a while we float the boat, and proceed. The entrances to several canals are passed; they serve, at high tide, to facilitate the communication between remote parts of the city and the sea. Now, they are nothing but huge sewers.

The landing-place reached, we see the officer who is charged with our convoy to the Embassy; he looks like a man who has much responsibility, and gives a great number of orders to the crowd of barges, so that we may land with facility. Our horses are wondrously got-up creatures; there is something truly medieval in their trappings, barring the straw shoes wrapped round the hoofs, which spoils the poetry of our steeds; otherwise the head-stalls, bits, saddle-cloths, martingales, cruppers, and stirrups might have been used by the Disinherited Knight in the tilt-yard of Front-de-Bœuf's castle. For the horses we cannot say as much; but they are good-tempered, sturdy little steeds. And so—to horse!

The street leading from the landing-place is as wide as

Regent Street, and terminates about three-quarters of a mile off, at the entrance of a handsome temple, whose green terraces, dotted with seats, and cool alcoves, look most refreshing. We turn, however, abruptly up a street parallel to the water. It is broad and clean; on either hand are continuous rows of shops; and at short intervals of three hundred yards a wooden barrier runs athwart the street, apparently constructed for purposes of police. Shops of a trade seem to run together: here we have eatables in any quantity; then basket and wicker work for all Japan; now, earthen-ware—then, iron-ware. And then, we exclaim, what a crowd! They have only run together as we pass, yet you might walk on their heads. We used to think the Chinese stowed closely in their houses, but these Japanese assuredly beat them in that; and what is far better, they do it with cleanliness, which the former certainly do not. Everybody looks well washed, contented, and merry—you do not meet a single cross or sullen look. In the doorways of the houses women abound. They have succeeded—God forgive them!—in making themselves as ugly as sin; yet they have good eyes, glossy hair, and a merry look. Generous creatures: we find they are mostly married women, who have sacrificed their teeth and eyebrows to insure their poor husbands against the pangs of jealousy. The women have evidently abundant liberty here, but it is strange how indelicate the mass of the people are. Our police-officer is looking out most keenly for any pictures that might be exposed in the shops offensive to our sense of propriety, and they disappear like magic at his approach; still he sees not all, and we are startled by

figures and models of the vilest description, swinging about unnoticed amongst men, women, and children, who seemed unconscious of, or indifferent to, the shameless exhibition.

We do not see a beggar, and the street is admirably clean. Some respectably-dressed Buddhist priests are chanting a hymn, in not unmusical cadence, at the closed door of a house—they will continue to do so until the heart of the proprietor is softened, or his patience gone; then the door will open, and he will fee them civilly. Our conductor now turns sharp down a street, at the end of which is a sturdy-looking gate; we are at the portal of the enclosure within which the British Embassy dwells. It opens, and as we proceed, a grand procession is approaching us from the temple at the end of the road, and we find Lord Elgin and suite are just starting for their first visit to the Prince, who is said to direct the foreign affairs of Japan. His Lordship having brought with him a very gorgeous chair, which those learned in Chinese etiquette had declared to be of the proper dimensions and colour for a statesman of his rank, was able to go and visit the Prince in comparative comfort; but all the rest of the party, naval and diplomatic, were packed in small wicker-work palanquins used in the country. To people accustomed to sit on their hams instead of chairs, travelling in such conveyances might be simple enough; but with our big-boned, big-jointed countrymen, done up in cocked hats, gilded coats, and long swords, the feat was a wonderful one, and a sight not easily to be forgotten.

The residence of the Ambassador was a small dwelling

upon one side of the temple, with the back of the premises opening upon a pretty little garden. One large room occupying the ground-floor, was obtained by the simple process of removing all the screens which had originally cut it up into any number of apartments, and a large table brought from the ship quickly turned this into a dining as well as general drawing-room. Immediately over this apartment, another one equally large was fitted up with beds for the Ambassador's suite. His Lordship occupied a couple of rooms on the basement, which formed a wing running from the dining-room into the garden. The farther apartment served the double purpose of a sitting-room and a hall of conference for the Commissioners—the other was his Lordship's bed and dressing room. A verandah ran along the back of the premises, and served as a means of communication between the different apartments.

The garden, though very circumscribed in area, and so situated as to bound by its wall the horizon on every side, contained within its limits two ponds, stocked with fish and ornamented with the lotus in full flower; a bridge, a lawn, shrubbery, kitchen, and flower-garden; and a mountain-side, up which a tortuous path led to two or three fine cedars on the summit, from whence an enterprising traveller might contemplate the roofs of two adjoining houses, and the cupola of a Buddhist temple, —each, to use a nautical metaphor, about a biscuit's throw distant! No one but a Japanese gardener could have crammed all these objects together into so small space, and still preserved anything like order and good taste, on neither of which heads could much complaint

be made. Many of the trees were of course dwarfed, but the skill exhibited in having everything in just proportion, so as to make size and colour assist in the deception practised upon the eye, was, it appeared to us, most remarkable; yet, after all, the Embassy garden was but a very inferior specimen of the art of the Japanese gardener.

The entrance-hall of the Embassy was screened off here and there into small apartments for the domestics, and the two extremes of the hall (for it ran along the whole face of the house) terminated in the English kitchen at the one end, and the Japanese police establishment at the other. To us the latter was an endless source of interest, as much as were the wonders of the ambassadorial *cuisine* to all the Japanese priests, women, porters, and loungers with whom the courtyard in front was generally filled during the daytime. There were cracks in the wooden walls of the kitchen, which rendered it a perfect peep-show, and there, with eyes fixed firmly to the chinks, a curious individual, after a tough battle for the position, would remain until, in the height of his astonishment, he inadvertently turned round to utter some exclamation, or communicate his information to the bystanders; in a moment he was borne away, and another successful sightseer won his envied peep-hole.

The quantity of animal food consumed in the Embassy was a great source of wonderment. Fish, rice, and vegetables, cooked in a thousand different ways, form the food of the many millions inhabiting the Japanese group. They would as soon think of eating animals so valuable as their oxen are, as we should of consuming the flesh of

our carriage-horses or hunters; a sheep was a beast unknown to them; pigs are a luxury, reserved for the rich and noble; yet all these, and much more, they saw cooked in marvellous ways, and consumed in fabulous quantities for so thrifty a people.

The police-court established in the Embassy was to us equally novel: through it all intercourse between the subjects of Queen Victoria and those of the Tai-koon was carried on, and through it the native authorities learnt everything that was done within the ambassadorial residence, at least all that they could understand or put an interpretation upon. The leading functionary was a deputy of the Lieutenant-Governor of Yedo, and he sat in the farthest part of the apartment, from the hour of six in the morning until all had gone to rest, receiving reports, ordering supplies, directing the shopkeepers of the city to bring the divers manufactures we strangers wished to purchase—running to the entrance to receive his superiors, and they were many, that came to look, hear, or see; and lastly, supervising the close inspection by his subordinates of every article brought into the Embassy for sale, turning everything upside down, to see that nothing contraband got into our hands—recording its nature, quality, and price in a book, and then taking good care, that, although we paid for such purchases in Mexican dollars, only their equivalent value in Japanese *itzibus* reached the hands of the vendor! That deputy of the Lieutenant-Governor, as Yenoske would call him (though we believe his proper title and that of his chief should have been Police Magistrate and Superintendent), was a wonderful man, and still more wonder-

ful when we found that, besides performing his multifarious duties, he found time to discuss, with three or four other persons sufficiently exalted in rank to feed at the same table, a long series of meals, and to smoke an unlimited number of pinches of tobacco in exceedingly pretty metal pipes.

The examination of every article before it was exhibited to us, and the record of each purchase, was done with a celerity and precision which spoke well for the business habits of the clerks employed; yet we felt for the poor tradesmen, whose time was thus wasted, and were not astonished to find that it almost required compulsion to get them to the Embassy, and that they seldom brought their best wares with them. The object of the Japanese government in recording all our purchases, however trifling, was rather difficult to understand—perhaps it was the mere habit of "wanting to know, you know!"

Yenoske the linguist's duty consisted in being the medium of communication between the Europeans in the Embassy and the Japanese, and it required all the temper and patience which we ascribe to an angel to be able to do this. His labours were incessant. Now there was a message or letter for the Commissioners one minute, and the next a requisition for fish and vegetables. Now, some one wanted musquito-curtains for his bed; then another required four of the most valuable dogs in Yedo, at the smallest possible price. An irritable Briton wished to know why they insisted upon unpacking, examining, and recording every separate cup and saucer of a set he had purchased, and vowed he would not submit to it; and next, the little man, armed

with his two swords, and *en grande tenue*, had to escort a party from the Embassy to visit the sights in and around the city of Yedo. He was everywhere, and, next to Mr Hewskin, whose duties were equally multifarious, though of a higher order, all who visited Yedo are deeply indebted to Yenoske for his zeal and civility.

The Ambassador and the party that went to visit the Secretary for Foreign Affairs returned in due time; and though no very flattering impression was made by the appearance and intelligence of that prince on those who went in his Excellency's suite, the interview was said to have been, on the whole, satisfactory. At any rate a box of sweetmeats which followed each of the visitors as a present, was unexceptionable—especially what was called ribbon sweetmeat; and we can assure the rising generation of Great Britain that Bonaparte's ribs, toffey, barley-sugar, and suchlike delicacies, fall far short of it.

We heard that Lord Elgin had been told that the Tai-koon was very ill—indeed, too ill to grant an interview; but that his Excellency might, if he pleased, have an audience of the heir-apparent. The serious sickness of the Tai-koon we had heard of from Mr Harris at Simoda, who informed us that the unfortunate Emperor was in the last stage of epileptic disease, and in July, when he saw him, looked far more dead than alive.* Poor Tai-koon, few would willingly change places with him, immured from birth until death within the limited area

* Subsequent to our visit a report reached us *vid* Nangasaki, that the Tai-koon died the day we reached Yedo; this we now know to be a fact, but, for state reasons, it was considered advisable to conceal the circumstance from general knowledge until a considerable period had elapsed.

of his palace garden, seeing nothing even of his own dominions but what his eye could range over from the terraces of his prison; learning nothing but through the verbal reports of his almost equally imprisoned high officers, or the written accounts sent in by the heads of the various departments—one can hardly conceive a situation more sad, or more likely to lead to those habits of intemperance or sensuality which end in epilepsy, idiocy, and an early grave. The high officers about court, we were told, were likewise confined to the palace during their tenure of office. They are able to find relief from such imprisonment by a system of incognito travelling, which, under the term *niebon*, is the privilege of the upper classes in Japan. In this manner grandees, whom strict etiquette would not have permitted to receive foreigners such as ourselves, or officially to visit the squadron, would very likely *niebon* have scrutinised us, and walked over the different ships; but we never heard that the Tai-koons had been known to avail themselves of this licence.

The reception of an ambassador, envoy, or deputation from a foreign state, under these circumstances, must be a great treat to any Tai-koon in possession of his faculties; and we were impressed with this idea from the account given by a gentleman who was present at the reception of a Dutch envoy and his suite at Yedo, and that not very many years since. The Tai-koon desired the strangers to take off their garments of ceremony, to stand upright, to walk about, to compliment each other, then to dance, to jump, and to play the drunkard! The complaisant suite were desired to speak broken Japanese,

to read their own language aloud, to sketch, and, lastly, to sing; and a Dutch love-song seems finally to have stayed the Tai-koon's inordinate curiosity, and saved the Dutchmen further exertion.

Two excursion-parties were arranged for the 24th August—one to some nursery and tea-gardens on the eastern outskirts of Yedo, involving a very long ride; the other, which we were strongly recommended to join (advice which we had reason afterwards to congratulate ourselves on having taken), was to the south-west, to the Temple of Tetstze, which stands about half-way between Kanagawa and Yedo, though not, we think, on the main road. The *cortége* of Europeans, on horseback, formed within the temple enclosure, two officers of the police establishment leading, and one bringing up the rear. The array of both man and horse in the case of these functionaries was the acme of Japanese dandyism —the switch tails of the steeds they bestrode had been even tied up in long blue bags, and produced a killing effect! The gates were opened at the mandate of the senior functionary, and we sallied forth.

Happy those who had provided themselves with English saddles and bridles—we, the unwise ones, shall assuredly bear the memory of those brass-bound demi-peak saddles to our graves. There must be a marvellous supply of copper and zinc in Yedo, for everything is bedizened with these metals in some shape or other, and our spirited little ponies carried almost as much of it on their backs as of English flesh and bone. The stirrups alone must have weighed from thirty to forty pounds the pair: they were solid masses of bronze, with a place

for the foot, formed in the shape of the wooden shoes sometimes seen in use amongst the foreign peasantry, and covered with most beautiful inlaid work, in white copper or silver. The saddle, shaped like a letter V, was handsomely and tastefully bound with bronze along the entire edge. Its original model may undoubtedly have been European, but (like that vermilion frigate) of those days long gone by, when an ambassador's suite would all have been cased in steel, and rendered thus invulnerable. Mr Hewskin, more wise than the rest, had brought his pillow out to ride upon—a precaution we would recommend to all future tourists using Japanese saddles. Our horse's head was rendered perfectly sword and bullet proof, from the quantity of brass and bronze about it; and, apart from the weight of these things, there was no questioning their beauty, and the wonderful skill and taste of the ornamental labour.

The sun was high, and the day as warm a one, we fancy, as is usually experienced at Yedo in the summer; yet, thanks to the bracing effects of the climate and to the refreshing sea-breeze, we were all able to bear exposure to the heat, when at Shanghai, *coup-de-soleil*, cholera, or some other unpleasant concomitant, would assuredly have overtaken most of the party. The streets were somewhat bare, for it was the usual hour for the afternoon siesta, and the appearance of the foreigners in this direction had been unlooked for: there were, however, people enough moving about to prove what a line of human beings we were passing through; and on our return in the evening, the throng was very great. The shops we saw were none of them of the first class—these

are only to be found in the heart of the city, and our road led to the suburbs. It appeared as if there were only two classes of dwellings—those of the shop-keeper, and the enclosures, rather than palaces, of the nobles.

We had been told that there was an especial quarter set apart for the dwellings of the nobles; but their numbers or property exceeded the prescribed limits, for in our ride we constantly went past a long extent of shops, and then came suddenly upon an interval of paling or wall which enclosed the establishment of some Japanese baron and his many retainers or serfs. Herds of these fellows would collect, and stare at us, and pass their remarks, all of which we were told were made on the erroneous supposition that we were Chinese traders, people whom the Japanese hold in utter contempt. These serfs or slaves are the property of the noble, much in the same manner as in Russia, and are turned to similar profit. It was strange to find a nobleman living in the heart of a great city, surrounded by these retainers, and it recalled to mind the feudal days of our own country, to which age, indeed, much that we saw in Japan carried back our thoughts.

At a small bridge thrown over a canal or creek, which we crossed, the suburbs commenced, the boundary being merely conventional, for there was no change in the number of the houses and streets. Instead of shops, every house—and they were quite of the better order—was a place of entertainment; tea-house and restaurant succeeded one another in endless numbers; and up the streets which branched off, all seemed of this same cha-

racter. We were not long in discovering that this was the particular quarter in which all the courtesans of Yedo are by law obliged to reside,—not as a mark of disgrace, or because they are considered outcasts; for, far otherwise, the law acknowledges this course of life as the legitimate resource of the penniless. They are said to be the best educated and most polished women in Japan, and some of them have obtained historical eminence for their beauty and talents. Marriages are constantly made from amongst them, and it is the generally received opinion amongst the Japanese men that they make the best housekeepers, and their society is not shunned by any one, whether ladies or gentlemen. The social errors of Japan, and elsewhere in the South Seas, it is, however, unadvisable to dilate upon in English publications; but it is unjust to measure their morality by the codes of Christian nations. Suffice it that infidelity on the part of married women in Japan is almost unknown; but that polygamy, concubinage, and prostitution are the custom of the people. Those who have any curiosity on such a subject will find, in the works of Kæmpfer and Siebold, much that is strange; but I would remark that both these writers relate details of customs which are startling to Europeans, without giving the causes which have brought about such a system: and that, deplorable as the morality of Japan may be, they have travelled to little purpose in the far East who know not of social conditions worse than this.

We now reached that portion of the suburb of Sinagawa where a ridge of hills, enclosed within a nobleman's grounds, pressed so close to the sea that only a

single street was left winding by the shore, and at intervals upon the seaward side beautiful views of Yedo Bay and the distant shores of the eastern side of the gulf might be obtained. The tea-houses had turned to account the appearance of foreign ships in the bay, and verandahs commanding views of them had been thrown out, in which the Japanese gentlemen, travellers, or labourers, might rest, drink tea or sakee, and look through huge telescopes of native manufacture fixed upon stands. They were waited upon, not by nasty fusty waiters, redolent of bad cigars and bear's grease, but by brisk damsels, as modestly and quietly dressed and as neat-handed as any English Susan Nipper. The road was quite as broad as any highroad at home, in capital preservation, with on each side a pathway, separated from it by a drain. Here and there we came upon places where the sea at high tide touched one side of the road; wherever this was the case a stone wall had been built towards the sea so as to keep the road level and prevent inundation. We passed a nobleman's grounds which would have done credit for their neatness and good keeping to any park in Britain; it was just at the junction of the detached suburbs with those directly connected with the city. Here was the position for a European colony; and all we can hope is, that when the time comes, in January 1862, that according to treaty the four Powers will be entitled to residence in Yedo, this nobleman may be induced to let or sell sites for the houses of the mercantile community.*

* I believe the site of the European settlement is as nearly as possible in the position here indicated.

We met travellers in uncomfortable sedan-chairs, and they nearly all halted and sat staring at us, their knees doubled up to the chin, and looking disagreeably hot and dusty; and among the many pedestrians thronging the road-side, peasants were to be seen hastening back to their homes from market, carrying some purchase from the great city, and it was generally remarked that few of these good fellows were without some child's toy in their hands. We had noticed the number of children's toyshops, and these seemed proofs of how much love is expended upon the younger members of the community by these kind-hearted people. The girls as well as the boys appear to enjoy an equal share of regard. Groups of both sexes ran along the road-side enjoying the rare sight of such wonderful men as we were, while their grown-up countrymen laughed and cheered them on. We did not begrudge them the treat, nor that of shouting out that we were Chinamen; but our gallant police functionaries hurled words of thunder at them now and then, and looked terrible things, which would only for a minute awe the little monkeys into silence.

The day was fine, and naturally we broke into a canter as we came upon the first open piece of road at the southern limit of Yedo. The senior police functionary was got up for a walk, not for galloping! He tried all sorts of means to stop us, but failing, dropped astern in a dignified manner, in the society of our horse-boys, who also duly expostulated with us upon our unseemly conduct, and then burst out laughing at our ridiculous behaviour, and fell behind. For a mile, the immediate road-side was clear of houses; but small

farms, and here and there a little hamlet, were seen. The ground was low on either side, but rose at no great distance on the landward side into hills. The lowland was all under rice cultivation; and much as we had seen of the profusion of labour, the neatness of the fields, hedges, ditches, fences, and palings in China, it bore no comparison with what was now before us; and we all hailed with delight the pleasing fact that the process of fertilising the soil here did not poison the air, as it does everywhere there! The road carried us to another village of considerable extent, where functionary "No. 2" managed to persuade Lord Elgin that his horse required baiting, and that we, although only an hour and a half from lunch, required refreshment in a peach-garden. To the peach-garden we went, though that fruit was no longer procurable; but the place was prettily laid out with trees, grass, artificial lakes, bridges, and pleasant summer-houses and verandahs. The establishment was under the management of or belonged to a lady, and as soon as "No. 2" functionary had swaggered about, and enlightened the inmates as to the important positions that he and Lord Elgin held, arrangements were made for refreshment.

There being no chairs in Japan, we threw ourselves at full length upon the nice clean mats. Several low tables, just high enough for people seated cross-legged on the ground, were placed near, and then the hostess upon her knees, commencing with the Ambassador, presented each person with a cup of tea. She was a remarkably good-looking ladylike woman—nothing could have been more graceful than her manner; and the posture of kneeling, accompanied by a low bow to signify prostra-

tion at one's feet, is the custom of the country, where every subordinate prostrates himself in the presence of his superior. This loving cup having been presented, she stood aside and directed her servants to place fruits and other refreshments before us; her teeth were blackened, and consequently she must have been a married woman, though no husband appeared. Possibly she was a widow; but if so, she had decidedly reached that stage of widowhood known as that of mitigated woe in the mourning warehouses at home. We were undecided up to this moment whether to ascribe our being attended upon by the ugly handmaidens of the establishment to the matronly prudence of our good hostess alone, or to some villanous reasons of functionary "No. 2;" but there, away in the distance, we saw such pretty girls! The poor ugly ones! one should always feel for ugly women, dear reader, for Heaven no doubt intended all women, like the flowers, to be pretty or beautiful; an ugly woman is a mistake—but at any rate, there were two of those unfortunates sent to attend upon the Ambassador and his party. In justice it must be said that their cleanliness, neatness, and the quick wit with which the poor girls saw exactly what each guest wanted, reconciled us to them amazingly; and none enjoyed the joke more heartily than they did, when some of the party beseeched the prudent matron to allow the handsomer young ladies to wait on us; a request she met with a shake of the head, and a glance at that abominable fellow, "No. 2" functionary, who doubtless thus revenged himself upon us for the gallop we had inflicted upon him on his brass-bound demi-peak saddle.

The dress of the Japanese women is simple, but graceful. The robe which crosses the breast, close up to the neck, or a little lower according to the taste of the wearer, reaches nearly down to the ground, and has loose sleeves, leaving the wrist free. This robe is confined round the body by a shawl, which is tied behind in a bow, the ends flowing. Everything in Japan, even to dress, is regulated by law, and the sumptuary laws have been very strict until lately, when contact with Europeans appears to be bringing about a slight relaxation. The colour worn by all classes of men in their usual dress is black, or dark blue, of varied patterns; but the women very properly are allowed to wear brighter dresses, and of course avail themselves of the privilege. Yet their taste was so good that noisy colours were generally eschewed. Their robes were generally striped silks of grey, blue, or black; the shawl some beautiful bright colour—crimson, for instance; and their fine jet-black hair was tastefully set off by having crimson crape, of a very beautiful texture, thrown in among it. Of course we speak of the outdoor dress of the women—their full dress within doors is, we believe, far more gay.

We had just made up our minds that life in a Japanese peach-garden was the thing of all others most to be desired, and that the Furious, Retribution, and Lee might go back to foul and fusty China as soon as they pleased, and that anybody might fight for tea, and do policemen amongst the piratical Cantonese, provided we were troubled no farther upon such points, when functionary "No. 1" ambled up, and functionary "No. 2" suggested to his Excellency that we might, if he pleased,

proceed, and we had to resign ourselves to fate, and again mount our ponies.

The law prohibited the distribution of any British coins, and how to fee the good people around us was a difficulty, until it was happily discovered that uniform buttons did not come within the enactment, and that they were much prized by the Japanese ladies. That day the naval members of our party returned to the Embassy wonderfully shorn of crown-and-anchor buttons; and some of us hoped we had succeeded in ingratiating ourselves by our presents almost as much as our friends in the Embassy had done with their magnificent beards and mustaches, for the effect these produced upon the spinsters of Yedo must have been highly satisfactory to our diplomatists.

From the peach-garden we rode for a mile or two through a long village, which was a model of neatness, with flowers and pretty plants round even the poorest cottage. No pigs were seen feeding on the road-side, or poultry running into the houses—both were in their places, the former in their sties, the latter in the yards. A ride of seven miles brought us to the borders of a fine rapid stream, which discharges itself into Yedo Bay, not far from Beacon Point. Our steeds were placed in admirable ferry-boats, and ourselves accommodated in others, and the ferrymen poled us across with long bamboos to a landing-place upon the opposite side. This stream marks the boundary to which European residents at Kanagawa may only for the present proceed in the direction of Yedo, and a very good ride it is of more than ten miles, through a most beautiful and rich country.

It was to this river that an enterprising chaplain, belonging to one of the ships of Commodore Perry's American Expedition, found his way, during that gallant officer's negotiations at Kanagawa. It was at that time so contrary to all Japanese rules that a stranger should thus enter their exclusive country, and dare to walk where he pleased, that a special report was made to the Commodore of the circumstance. That officer immediately despatched a written order by a Japanese official, for the gentleman to retrace his steps; and as a proof of how closely every act is reported upon in Japan, we repeat from memory the Government record, as it was told us: that the despatch was delivered to the chaplain on the banks of the river, near the ferry, where he was endeavouring to compel the natives to ferry him over to the Yedo side of the water; that on receiving the letter he stopped, read it, went on a short distance, stopped again, opened the letter, and then returned!

Beyond the landing-place referred to, we passed through another pretty little town, and at "The Hotel of Ten Thousand Centuries" another meal was ordered to be ready for us on our way back from the temple. We are afraid to trust ourselves to a minute description of the country scene through which we now rode. It was neither monotonous nor stiff; yet the road, fields, ditches, drains, and cottages, all looked as if they had just been constructed, tiled, clipped, planted, or clean swept, ready for special inspection;—industry combined with the greatest economy of space and material, blended with taste and beauty.

Our precious saddle—we won't use violent language—

was enough to knock all appreciation of the picturesque out of any one, and it is the best guarantee for our not exaggerating what we saw. There were orchards of pears and peaches, where the trees were trained over neat trellises of bamboo, as if they had been vines—bright patches of the taro plant spread their dark-green broad leaves on the one hand; and on the drier soil the millet plant of Northern China flourished, as well as the rich golden ears of the Indian-corn. Now a gentleman's house appeared within a neat enclosure of hedge, as well clipped as that of a London suburban villa; but its stiffness of outline was broken by a Japanese convolvulus having been allowed to run over it, loaded with many-coloured flowers. Very fine groves of trees were seen, and we noticed among them two sorts of pine-tree, one which throws out its sprays like the Norfolk Island pine, and the other the ordinary one peculiar to Japan. The maple, chestnut, walnut, and oak, we likewise recognised, or trees very like them, and the orange was not rare. Bamboo was plentiful; and finding it in a climate which in the winter is undoubtedly severe, we could not help hoping that it, as well as the banana tree of China, may be naturalised on the south coast of England.

We were anything but tired of the scenes through which we were riding, when the Temple of Tetstze came in sight; and we rattled through a street, followed by a vast throng of wonder-stricken Japanese, and turned into the portals of the Temple. A broad well-paved court led to a building that stood upon a lofty basement. A fine flight of granite steps led to the porch, round which, as well as up the steps, there was a balustrade in

stone and bronze. The interior of this Buddhist temple consisted mainly of a very elaborate altar, having a raised dais in front, carefully railed round, upon which there was the most extraordinary collection of metal castings, mostly of white copper, we ever saw. They were no doubt offerings to the placid stucco deity, who was ensconced behind candlesticks, lights, and silken banners. Everything was clean, neat, and in working order, evincing that the religion, such as it is, is active in Japan not dormant, worn-out, effete, as in China. The priests were well to do, decently clad, and reverent in their appearance, and were treated with respect.

The Principal saluted Lord Elgin, and paid him every attention, offering to conduct him over the grounds and cloisters. Time, however, pressed for the ride back to the Embassy, and the civility was declined. On reaching the porch, the scene round the grand flight of steps, and across the court, was such a sight as only Japan could produce upon so short a notice. Every space was literally *crammed* with human beings. The corridors of the temple, the galleries in the cloisters, the walls and roofs which overlook the yard, were black or brown with men, women, and children. It was a wonderful sight. They shouted, not violently, but shouted with astonishment and delight at the spectacle the half-dozen Europeans afforded them. The prospect of having to fight a way through such a sea of human beings was not cheering, but three or four policemen quietly cleared the way, and a path opened before us to the gate. There the policemen checkmated the crowd, who were on the point of rushing after us into the street, by securing the gates

instantaneously amidst a roar of indignation from the thousands who found themselves thus shut up within the limits of the temple. Then came cries, and laughter, and a rush; and as we rounded another portion of the temple enclosure, the prodigious crowd had collected for a last gaze at us, where a broad intervening ditch, however, prevented them from incommoding the strangers.

Returning by the way we had come, we halted for refreshment at "The Hotel of Ten Thousand Centuries," which was as decent a house as many European countries could produce, and a vast deal cleaner and more moderate than some we could mention in Great Britain. Functionary "No. 2" here ate and drank himself into such a state of supreme contempt for foreigners that he left us, and we only caught sight of him again for a moment in what might have been the window of his club, where, surrounded by swells as great as himself, to whom he was pointing out the various members of our party, he had a bevy of Japanese houris dancing attendance upon him.

As our cavalcade neared Yedo, it was certain that it had been expected to return by this route, and all Kanagawa, Omagawa, and the inhabitants of that part of Yedo, were there to stare. The crowd at a Lord Mayor's show, in the old days when such glories were, can alone bring before the reader the idea of such a vast mass of human beings thus brought together. The pavement, side-streets, and houses were full; yet no insult and no hindrance were suffered. In places where the crowd in a side-street threatened to block the thoroughfare by pouring into the main street, a small piece of rope or

string was stretched across from corner to corner, and no one dared to break the fragile barrier. In the suburbs, at 5 P.M., every one was bathing, and "cleanliness first, modesty afterwards!" seemed to be their motto. In some cases, the tubs were outside the doorways, and the family enjoyed themselves in the open air, rubbing themselves down in the steaming hot water, with cloths; others had their tubs in the room on their ground-floors, but the front of the house was perfectly open, and the manner in which the fair Eves stepped out of their baths, and ran to stare at us, holding perhaps a steaming and squalling babe before them, as a fig leaf, was a little startling.

Night was closing in as we reached the Embassy, in the vicinity of which the inhabitants, more accustomed to the sight of strangers than those in the distant quarters, had left the streets comparatively clear. It appeared to us as if there was little traffic carried on during the night in Yedo, and in some cases the barriers at the ends of the streets were closed.

It was generally agreed that during the ride to the temple of Tetstze we must have seen at least 80,000 Japanese, the majority of them men—yet no one had noticed a crippled, deformed, or leprous person. The writer was careful to count all those Japanese whom he saw during that day suffering from infirmities arising from disease—such, for instance, as loss of eyesight from small-pox. The entire number, incredible as it may appear, amongst so many thousands of human beings, fell considerably short of a hundred. Pock-marks were common, but by no means general.

Only two beggars were seen in this ride of full twenty-two miles: one was a mendicant priest, too aged to wander about, and he was seated under a tree by the wayside, beating the discordant wooden drum used in Buddhist temples, and mumbling over endless prayers; and the other beggar was a very venerable and decrepid old woman. This was all the really downright poverty we heard of or saw in Yedo; and we can hardly believe that the paupers were put out of sight during the stay of the English.

If squalor and poverty were not to be found in Yedo, neither was there ostentatious magnificence or extravagance amongst the higher and wealthier classes. In the audience-chamber of the Prince of Bitsu, or in the official procession of an imperial commissioner going to an interview with Lord Elgin, there was no gaudy display of bright-coloured silks or satins, no glitter of gold and silver, yet there was abundance of ceremony, and invariably a large well-dressed retinue. The Japanese men may be said to be the Quakers of the East, so far as the sombre colour and style of their dress went; and the contrast between the tawdry magnificence of Chinese mandarins, and the simple yet orderly array of a high Japanese functionary, was very striking.

We have already spoken of the curiosity of the people, and of the struggle which daily took place to inspect the mysteries of the Ambassador's kitchen. There were many other instances of the wonder excited by the novelty, and (as they owned) by the superiority of the strangers. Yenoske, the interpreter, had often to blush at what he called the ill-manners of his countrymen, but

he assured us that in three or four years' time they would behave much better! Poor souls! it would indeed have been unreasonable to have resented their inquisitiveness; and if we ever did so, they immediately recalled us to our senses by a good-humoured laugh.

The visitors to the Embassy, being quartered at a temple a short distance from the abode of that Argus-eyed individual, the Deputy Lieutenant-Governor, were especially favoured with the attentions of those ladies and gentlemen of Yedo who wished to judge for themselves of English manners and customs. No doubt, the priests, who, with their families (for priests in Japan are allowed to marry), were living in the enclosure of the same temple, turned to profitable account the spectacle we afforded to their friends and neighbours. There was no objection to gratify all reasonable curiosity, and arrangements were made that our only apartment should be thrown open for an audience directly after the morning ablutions were completed. An express stipulation that a Briton taking his bath was to form no part of the morning's entertainment, was made, in consequence of one of our party having unconsciously, for several mornings, been shown to various parties of Japanese ladies, in such light costume as might enable them to assure themselves of the fact that his skin was quite as fair as his face and hands promised.

All the wonders of our dressing-table, from stropping a razor to putting eau-de-cologne upon a pocket-handkerchief, were freely exhibited. A jolly old priest laughed immoderately at our applying such a spirit to so ignoble a purpose, and tried to enlighten the foreigners

as to its proper use, by tossing off any quantity that might be poured into the palm of his hand. The ladies were especially delighted with scented soaps and hair-brushes, and the gentlemen looked upon boots and gilt buttons as marvels which it was highly desirable the Japanese nation should know how to manufacture as soon as possible.

Our sleeping apartment was one of two which formed the wing of a small temple, the main body of which rightfully belonged to some half-dozen Japanese deities, who had retired from business, behind screens, during our stay. In front, and behind this wing of the building, there were gardens, each about a hundred feet square—in them the priests had spent long lives of industry in cramping the growth of unhappy firs, and divers other trees and plants. Directly we became the inmates of the rooms referred to, a little shed was constructed in the corner of the back-garden, and here a priest was permanently posted to watch our doings, while at night a policeman with a bamboo rattle joined him, and disturbed our rest with hourly tunes upon his instrument.

We had, like the eels, just become accustomed to this infliction, when, one night, the bleating of a goat awoke us so often, that we sprang out of bed, wishing the policeman's rattle down its throat, and vowing vengeance on the beast. Stepping out into the balcony which ran round the apartment, we saw a white goat trotting over the grass and flower-beds, bleating incessantly, whilst the priest and policeman were addressing it in Japanese, and the former occasionally threw up his arms, and

made reverent obeisances to the brute. We had ready a pair of stout boots to pelt the goat with, but they fell harmless from our hands, for we at once jumped to the conclusion that the goat was an incarnation of Buddha, and that to touch it would be sacrilege. Mentally anathematising all such noisy objects of idolatrous worship, we besought the priest and policeman to persuade their four-legged deity to remove its sacred presence to another part of the premises. They understood us, and with awe-struck faces, which the bright starlight enabled us to see, proceeded to carry out our wishes. They approached most cautiously, making all sorts of coaxing and wheedling noises; but directly the goat showed the slightest inclination to resist, or drooped its head as if to butt, away scuttled priest and policeman, and hid themselves until we cheered them on again to the fray. At last the animal was expelled, and the priest held up his hands, shook his head, and sighed as he returned to his hut, as if what he had done was "no canny;" and all this so confirmed us in our supposition, that when the brute again returned at dawn and bleated, we only pulled the bedclothes over our head, and hoped for the speedy religious enlightenment of the idolatrous worshippers of Nanny-goats.

All that we saw during the day still confirmed us in our original idea, for there was the goat browsing upon dwarfed plants which were worth their weight in gold, and the priests did not attempt to stop it, but offered it hot boiled rice in a plate, a devout offering which the beast indignantly rejected. A second night of the same bleatings was, however, too much for the patience of a

naval officer; and, taking the greatest care not to touch or hurt the goat (a forbearance which cost an hour's hard work, where five minutes would otherwise have sufficed), we expelled it from our gardens, and sent it forth into the general court of the temple. Had a certain old gentleman in black made his appearance in that courtyard, the astonishment and horror of the horse-boys, porters, and policemen could not have been greater, and they seemed quite ready to follow the example of the children, who ran off yelling with alarm. Then, and not until then, the truth flashed across us, that the goat was one that had been brought from the ship, and what appeared at first to be reverential awe, was merely extreme fear and wonder at the sight of so marvellous a quadruped!

Besides the temple of Tetstze, there were many others equally important, and perhaps more resorted to, within and around the city of Yedo. One very fine one stood between the Embassy and Palace Hill, which we were requested not to enter, for fear of exciting the intolerance of its priests and frequenters. Judging by the exterior of the buildings and the beauty of the grounds around it, it would have well repaid a visit. We fancied that it was from this temple that the time of all Yedo was regulated, by the sounds of a richly-toned bell, whose sonorous notes struck the Japanese hours so as to be heard even as far as the anchorage of the shipping. The temples in Japan, as in China, are used as hotels for travellers, and also as places of refreshment for pleasure-seekers; indeed, judging by the number of places adapted for public amusement in Yedo, we should write

the people down as a most holiday-making set. The whole city was surrounded with gardens, tea-houses, and temples, which were all resorted to by the old and young of both sexes for recreation.

We could not afford time to visit all, but there was the Odyee Garden—the Richmond of Yedo—with its "Star and Garter," where, in shady apartments near cool streams and picturesque waterfalls, the holiday-seeker might enjoy delicious tea or generous sakee, and be tended by the prettiest of pretty Japanese damsels. There were tempting walks through groves of dark-green trees, opening upon terraces which commanded fine views of the huge city, or of the country to the north, rich with cultivation, and dotted with houses; or of the rich plain and its woods, winding amongst which might be traced for many a mile the silvery thread of the river Toda-gawa.

The nursery-gardens were both numerous and well kept; they were not the result of imperial or princely whim, but of individual enterprise; and as such, it is questionable whether many European countries could produce anything equal to them. The season for flowers was unfortunately past, and that for the seeds had not yet arrived, so that our botanists were, we believe, not generally fortunate; but they all reported highly of the care, neatness, and skill of the Yedo gardeners. All these gardens were fitted up as places of public amusement; and our countrymen spoke quite as much, we must in candour admit, of the beauty of the fair daughters of Yedo, as they did of the loveliness of the camellias which abound here. Some of the older and wiser

heads declared that the good looks of the Japanese young ladies partook rather of the character which the French denominate *la beauté du diable;* yet there was a grace, kindliness, and gentle frankness about the fair Omitzas, Omatzas, and Oyakoos of Yedo, which were most winning; so much so, indeed, that more than one was heard to declare his intention of returning to Japan at some future day.

No one of the English succeeded in visiting the interior of the grounds enclosed within what is called the Imperial Palace, but nothing else was left unvisited that was worth seeing. Apart from the advantage it gave Lord Elgin to judge of everything by personal inspection, such a practice did much good in accustoming the natives to the appearance of strangers, and letting them form for themselves an opinion of their English visitors.

Upon this principle two or more parties daily sallied forth before breakfast to make purchases in the town, and we procured on such occasions more interesting specimens of Japanese industry than were ever brought to the Embassy by the people themselves. The shops contained all the various articles we have already described as being so plentiful in the bazaars of Nangasaki, with the addition of beautiful embroidery upon silk and crape, and most tasteful ornaments in glass, such as toilet-table bottles, and tumblers.

It was wonderful to see the thousand useful as well as ornamental purposes to which paper was applicable in the hands of these industrious and tasteful people; our papier-maché manufacturers, as well as the Continental ones, should go to Yedo to learn what can be done with

paper. We saw it made into material so closely resembling russian and morocco leather and pig-skin, that it was very difficult to detect the difference. With the aid of lacker-varnish and skilful painting, paper made excellent trunks, tobacco-bags, cigar-cases, saddles, telescope-cases, the frames of microscopes; and we even saw and used excellent waterproof coats made of simple paper, which *did* keep out the rain, and were as supple as the best Mackintosh.*

The Japanese use neither silk nor cotton handkerchiefs, towels, or dusters; paper in their hands serves as an excellent substitute. It is soft, thin, tough, of a pale yellow colour, very plentiful and very cheap. The inner walls of many a Japanese apartment are formed of paper, being nothing more than painted screens: their windows are covered with a fine translucent description of the same material: it enters largely into the manufacture of nearly everything in a Japanese household; and we saw what seemed balls of twine, which were nothing but long shreds of tough paper rolled up. If a shopkeeper had a parcel to tie up, he would take a strip of paper, roll it quickly between his hands, and use it for the purpose, and it was quite as strong as the ordinary string used at home. In short, without paper all Japan would come to a dead-lock; and, indeed, lest by the arbitrary exercise of his authority a tyrannical husband should stop his wife's paper, the sage Japanese mothers-in-law invariably stipulate, in the marriage-settlement, that the

* The application of paper to all these useful purposes has received a considerable stimulus in England within the last few years, but we are still far behind the Japanese.

bride is to have allowed to her a certain quantity of paper!

The shops and streets of Yedo were the scene of much traffic, but there were here no great staples that we saw likely to yield anything like commercial exports to foreigners. Beyond the manufacturing industry of Yedo, the whole population seemed to us consumers rather than producers, and this is proved by the fact, that the freight of goods from Nangasaki to Yedo in native craft was eighty per cent greater than that of goods from Yedo to Nangasaki; showing that it is entirely an import trade that Yedo holds with the rest of Japan. Coal and copper were the only articles which gave any promise of export—the latter was especially abundant in every form but that of coin; and although there is a current belief amongst the Dutch that the copper-mines of Japan are only allowed to be worked to a certain extent, far short of what they would otherwise yield, the abundance of the metal, in all its varied forms of pure copper, brass, and bronze, was very striking. We saw it as a protection upon the piles of their bridges, on the bottoms of the native vessels, and the stems and gunwales of very ordinary boats; and the number of their brass guns was extraordinary. We saw brass or copper coverings to the roofs of their temples and shrines: their altars were loaded with copper, brass, and bronze castings; and the skill with which the Japanese work this metal, so as to imitate gold in all the many articles of taste and luxury exhibited in Yedo, called for our constant admiration.

Necessity, no doubt, had compelled the artisan to dis-

cover some mode of adorning lacker and porcelain with what looked and wore quite as well as gold or silver; for we were told that the laws were most strictly enforced against the use of any precious metals for any such frivolous purposes. Still the art was a special one, and there is much to learn, we think, on this head, from Yedo, or rather from Miako, from which all the best articles of taste were reputed to come. Meantime, whilst our curiosity was not half satiated, and our love for Japan was hourly increasing, the British Ambassador and the Imperial Commissioners were making rapid work with the Treaty. We sighed when told there was no hitch which might delay our return to strong-smelling China and its unpoetical inhabitants, and hastened off to the ships our purchases of porcelain, embroidery, carved work, lacker-ware, and little dogs.

Among all the excitement and hurry (for our visit to Yedo only extended over fourteen days) we did not forget our ancient friend Will Adams. Through Mori-hama we tried to ascertain if anything was recorded of the old man amongst the Japanese. Mori-hama had been before interrogated upon the same point, and knew nothing of his history beyond what he had learned from us. It had been suggested to us that there was considerable alarm in Japan, lest, in resuming intercourse with Europeans, claims should be put in by Jesuits or other religious communities for any of their ancient possessions in the country; and that such fears, although it is to be hoped they are perfectly without foundation, would best explain why, for the present at least, no assistance would be given in the direction our inquiries tended. Unsuc-

cessful, therefore, as we were then, there can be but little doubt that in a country where the arts of writing, reading, and drawing have been so long perfected, we shall, at some future day, find some information to add to the scanty but interesting particulars we now possess of the English sailor who lived so long about the Court of Yedo, and who founded the commerce of Holland and that of Great Britain with Japan.

It may perhaps interest the reader to epitomise his history from the point at which we left it :—

The Erasmus was laid up, probably sunk, near Yedo, and the crew, as well as the Englishman, were, at the end of two years (1602 or 1603), positively told that they must be content to remain in Japan for life. The Dutch sailors dispersed themselves over the island, and except that they continued to receive a royal allowance of two pounds of rice *per diem*, and twelve gold *kobangs* a-year, equal to about £10, we hear no more of them. But the captain, in 1605 or 1606, received permission to go in a native vessel to the Straits of Malacca, and he was killed in the following year on board the Dutch fleet, in an action with the Portuguese, before he could, as Adams hoped, convey information to England of his existence in Cipango.

Will Adams was refused leave to quit Yedo, but treated with great consideration. He built ships for the emperor. The first was of eighty tons, and pleased the Japanese ruler so much that he was advanced to the rank of an imperial tutor, "being," says Will Adams, "in such grace and favour, by reason I taught him some points of geometry and the mathematics, with other

things, that what I said could not be contradicted. At the which, my former enemies—the Jesuits and Portugals—did greatly wonder, and entreated me to befriend them to the emperor in their business; and so by my means both Spaniards and Portugals have received friendship from the emperor, I recompensing their evil unto me with good." Adams, however, did not altogether become shipbuilder or tutor; for after having built a second vessel of one hundred and twenty tons burthen, he made a cruise to sea in her prior to 1609, going as far as Miako Bay with a Japanese crew.

In that year two circumstances occurred which held out a prospect of release to the poor fellow from his imprisonment, for such it appears to have been to him, wrapt up as he was in love for his wife and children in England. A Spanish galleon, the San Francisco, returning from Manilla to Acapulco in Mexico, and having on board the governor of the Philippines, was cast away upon the coast of Japan; and of the crew, one hundred and sixty souls perished. The remainder, including the governor, were very kindly treated. The larger of the two vessels built by Adams was given to them by the Japanese emperor, with every means for proceeding upon their voyage; and at a favourable season, in 1610, they did so, returning, it appears, to Manilla.

Poor Will Adams! we can see him standing on the shore watching the lessening sail that was carrying these strangers back to their home—a home he was forbidden to return to.

In that same year which saw the San Francisco wrecked upon the one shore of Japan, there arrived

upon the opposite side two privateers from Holland in quest of the Carrack of Portugal, which yearly ran from Macao to Japan. They missed their prize; so they consoled themselves by making arrangements for a future trade at Firando. The Dutch commanders travelled to the court, and there, thanks to the aid and influence of Will Adams, permission was accorded them to come yearly with certain commodities for trade. The disappointment felt by Adams at not being allowed to return with his friends the Dutchmen, must have been softened by the belief that if they returned safely to Holland, his countrymen would surely follow their footsteps, before long, to Japan. The year 1610 came and passed, and his heart must have been heavy, for hope of getting information to England through the Portugals he seems justly to have had none.

In 1611 he sits down to write that remarkable letter given by Master Purchas, bearing date 22d October 1611. In this letter he speaks of the kindness and generosity of the emperor, who had given him a living "like unto a lordship in England, with eighty or ninety husbandmen who are as my servants and slaves;" he describes the people his fortune had thrown him amongst "as good of nature, courteous above measure, and valiant in war," and adds, "I think no land better governed in the world by civil policy." He urges his countrymen to trade thither, and ends with the plaint nearest his poor lone heart, that he hopes by some means or other he shall hear of his wife and dear children. "Patiently," he says, "I wait the good-will and pleasure of God Almighty, desiring all those to whom this letter may

come, to use means to acquaint my good friends with it, and so my wife and children may hear of me; by which means there may be hope that I may see them before my death—the which the Lord grant, to His glory and my great comfort. Amen."

God, it is to be hoped, gave the poor fellow some solace and consolation; for in the month of April of this very year, 1611, his countrymen sailed from England for Japan. We know nothing of how 1612 passed with Adams, but on June 11, 1613, the good ship Clove anchored in Firando, and Captain Saris then learned that Adams, or Auge, as he was called, was living at Yedo. He was immediately sent for, and on the 29th July 1613 arrived in Firando. He had suffered long, and we will hope that Saris and his countrymen gave him all the comfort and the information of his home that he so earnestly longed for. At any rate, from this time forth he seems to have resigned himself to live and die in Japan; for after returning to Yedo with Saris, and assisting to secure the most liberal terms of trade and intercourse, he appears to have entered the employ of the Honourable East India Company as an interpreter in the factory at Firando, under charge of a Mr Richard Cookes. In the receipt of a good salary, the old sailor served his countrymen until his death, which probably happened in or about 1619. After his death, and after sustaining a loss in trade for some years, the English factory at Firando was voluntarily abandoned.

By the 24th August all Lord Elgin's difficulties connected with the final signature of the Treaty were removed, and, as if more firmly to cement the renewal

of the old alliance between these two powerful island empires of the East and West, the Japanese Government consented, for the first time in the history of Japan, to fire on that occasion a royal salute of twenty-one guns, which we, of course, undertook to return.

The daily conferences which had taken place between the high contracting parties had been always held in the British Embassy, when an immense deal of bowing, prostration, and suchlike acts of Japanese politeness, were undergone by our indefatigable friend the Lieutenant-Governor and his myrmidons. The Japanese Commissioners usually arrived about one o'clock in the afternoon, lunched with the Embassy, and then proceeded to business. At first they desired to introduce to the conferences the usual following of reporters and spies; but a polite firmness on the part of Lord Elgin brought them to reduce it to one secretary and their loyal interpreter, Mori-hama. Lord Elgin, we heard, pointed out to them, that even when thus diminished in numbers, they were in the proportion of five to one, and that, under such circumstances, Japanese interests need not suffer—to which the Commissioners replied, cleverly, that the appointment of so many Commissioners was the highest compliment that could be paid to the well-known ability of his Lordship, and that they desired to weigh justly and fairly all his propositions, so far as their humble abilities would enable them. It is but just to add that Lord Elgin made no secret of the reasonable and impartial spirit with which all the negotiations were carried on by them; and that he never had a more agreeable task than that of conferring with these

Japanese gentlemen upon measures which would be mutually beneficial to both countries. All they sought for was a sound reason for any privilege, and proof that it was not likely to be injurious to Japan: in some cases they acknowledged that such and such a demand ought to be conceded—that there was no reason against doing so but ancient prejudice; and then they asked for time to enable their rulers and people to accommodate themselves to the new order of things. "Give us three or four years," they said; "by that time we shall be ready." This will explain those clauses in the Treaty, in which specific periods are given for certain concessions.

The Japanese admiral, the *ex* or duplicate Governor of Nangasaki, and the third senior Commissioner, Ighono-Kami, were men of very superior ability and attainment. The latter especially was most industrious and curious as to all that related to England or America; his note-book was always in hand, recording the name of everything he saw or heard of; occasionally he would sketch articles, ascertaining their dimensions or the mode of their manufacture; and his observations upon their defects or merits were always intelligent. He was a wit likewise; and when any hitch occurred, whether in the conferences or elsewhere, he would rescue all parties from the dilemma by saying something which resulted in a hearty laugh. Mori-hama the linguist was a host in himself; and from the specimen the Commissioners afforded of the diplomatic skill of the servants of the Tai-koon, there was no doubt that many would be found qualified to represent Japan at our own court, or elsewhere in Europe. Indeed we heard the wish expressed,

in more than one quarter, to visit Europe and the United States.

On the 25th August, Lord Elgin invited all the Commissioners to dinner, and they came an hour before time, bringing a Japanese conjuror to enable his Excellency to judge of their skill in tricks of legerdemain. An impromptu theatre was soon formed of an apartment, one side of which opened out upon the temple garden; chairs and benches were ranged on the well-kept lawn, and the Ambassador, Commissioners, the suite, and a large body of officers, formed the audience. The conjuror was a gentlemanly-looking venerable man, clad in ample silk robes. He had as an assistant a wretch who tapped incessantly upon a small drum, and by his remarks, unintelligible of course to ourselves, he served to amuse the Japanese who crowded behind us. The old man performed many tricks of legerdemain, in a manner that equalled anything we had ever before seen; but when he proceeded to show the far-famed butterfly trick, all were fairly wonder-stricken.

Our Japanese Merlin was seated cross-legged about ten yards from us, upon the raised platform of the floor of the apartment; behind him was a gold-coloured screen, with a painting of the peak of Fusi-hama, in blue and white upon its glittering ground. He threw up the sleeves of his dress, and showed a piece of tissue-paper which he held in his hand. It was about six inches square, and by dexterous and delicate manipulation, he formed it into a very good imitation of a butterfly, the wings being extended, and at the most each was one inch across. Holding the butterfly out in the palm of

his hand, to show what it was, he placed two candles, which were beside him, in such a position as to allow him to wave a fan rapidly without affecting the flame, and then, by a gentle motion of this fan over the paper insect, he proceeded to set it in motion. A counter-draught of air from some quarter interfered with his efforts, and made the butterfly truant to his will, and the screen had to be moved a little to remedy this. He then threw the paper butterfly up in the air, and gradually it seemed to acquire life from the action of his fan—now wheeling and dipping towards it, now tripping along its edge, then hovering over it, as we may see a butterfly do over a flower on a fine summer's day, then in wantonness wheeling away, and again returning to alight, the wings quivering with nervous restlessness! One could have sworn it was a live creature. Now it flew off to the light, and then the conjuror recalled it, and presently supplied a mate in the shape of another butterfly, and together they rose and played about the old man's fan, varying their attentions between flirting with one another and fluttering along the edge of the fan. We repeatedly saw one on each side of it as he held it nearly vertically, and gave the fan a short quick motion; then one butterfly would pass over to the other, both would wheel away as if in play, and again return. A plant with some flowers stood in a pot near at hand; by gentle movements of the fan the pretty little creatures were led up to it, and then, their delight! how they played about the leaves, sipped the flowers, kissed each other, and whisked off again with all the airs and graces of real butterflies! The audience was in ecstasies, and young

and old clapped their hands with delight. The exhibition ended, when the old man advanced to the front of his stage, within arm's-length of us all, accompanied by his magic butterflies, that even in the open air continued to play round the magician and his fan! As a feat of legerdemain, it was by far the most beautiful trick we had ever heard of, and one that must require an immense amount of practice.

The Commissioners declined to send for any gladiators to exhibit the brutal prowess which so astonished and shocked our Transatlantic cousins; and it appeared from what Mori-hama let fall, that the severe strictures in the American history of Perry's Expedition had made the government of Yedo decide that Europeans should witness no more of them. The two facts, that the Japanese know what foreigners have said about them, and that they are very sensitive under criticism, are well worthy of note, and should be kindly remembered through the length and breadth of Christendom.

From the conjuror's theatre we went to dinner, and the Commissioners seemed heartily to enjoy it; using their knives, forks, and spoons with a skill that showed they were ready mimics. They seemed to give the preference to ham amongst the eatables, and champagne amongst the wines, and all the pastry, sweets, and dried fruits were heartily approved of. They laughed, until they almost cried, at the wild custom of drinking toasts and hurraing for the benefit of the pledged person's health. The junior Commissioners came out very strong at this stage of the proceedings. "Her Majesty the Queen, with three times three," was much to the taste of worthy

Suda-hanzabro; and when, after an appropriate speech from his Excellency, as much was done for "His Imperial Majesty the Tai-koon," he was perfectly electrified, and joined in the Hip! hip! hurrah! as loudly as any of the deep-chested Britons. When the party broke up, the Ambassador appointed an early hour on the following forenoon for the final transaction of business, after which the embarkation of the Embassy was to take place, the Commissioners accompanying Lord Elgin afloat to receive from Captain Barker the yacht intended for the Emperor.

We must not omit to mention that, according to Japanese custom, presents had been made to the members of the Embassy, and the senior officers of the squadron. Lord Elgin received a very handsome ornament for a table in the shape of a brace of birds beautifully cast in white metal, and divers pieces of silk. The other members of the suite had five, and the naval commanders had each three, pieces of a peculiar silk made at an imperial factory. The officers and men who had been sent out in charge of the yacht were especially honoured, and Lieutenant Ward received as imperial gifts a cabinet of lacker-ware, and a porcelain dish ornamented with paintings in lacker which were unique. The Commissioners were most careful to point out that nothing we received was to be considered as intended in any way as a return for the "magnificent present" of the yacht—such was their expression; that would be, they said, duly acknowledged by his Imperial Majesty; but we were requested to accept these trifles as proofs of esteem for men who had come so far upon a friendly mission.

Lord Elgin wished, before leaving, to make in his turn some presents to the many officials who had been so attentive, and as British diplomatists and men-of-war are not supplied with many articles very suitable for such a purpose, it was difficult to supply the need. Happily our paymaster had plenty of naval blue cloth, flannel, and blankets in store, and these articles, if not very ornamental, were useful, and might serve to give some idea of our common manufactures. To these were added soap and chocolate, and some new Enfield muskets and carbines,—the whole forming a medley which, judging by the delight of the recipients, was much approved. The pride of those presented with arms was beyond all bounds; and even Mori-hama, whose mission one would have supposed to be a peaceful one, grasped the artilleryman's carbine and its long sword-bayonet as if military honours were the especial object of his existence.

One could not help smiling at this childish love for arms—and with all disposition to approve of everything Japanese, certainly a man with his dress straw sandals and clean-shaved poll, with a long ugly musket in his hand and a British grenadier's belt and pouch over his shoulders, did not cut a martial or imposing figure. This love of guns and swords is extraordinary, for, with the exception of petty rebellion, it is now some centuries since there was any demand upon the military spirit of Japan; and the people and chiefs appeared anything but a fierce or bloodthirsty race; yet to carry arms is the ambition of every Japanese, and the right to wear two swords is a stamp of gentility indicating that the person so distinguished is above the trading class. Each of the

sixty great princes, the barons of the Japanese empire, spends the major portion of his revenue in guns, powder, and arms, and each of them has an enormous body of idle serfs, who at his bidding become soldiers. Sharp swords, and bows and arrows, constitute as yet the principal armament of these hosts; but every effort is being made to make and obtain muskets or rifles, and to drill the natives in the European style. Throughout the period of our stay in Yedo, drilling of men was constantly going on under the direction of Japanese officers, instructed by the Dutch at Nangasaki, and we heard an eternal target-practice with muskets in more than one of the enclosed batteries.

We awoke early, and sighed heavily, upon the morning of the 26th August, for the day of our departure from Japan had arrived. We have often vowed never again to like one particular spot upon this bright earth of ours more than another—never again to form a friendship upon the shore, but to confine all our likes and dislikes to salt water and sailors. Yet, somehow or other, we are ever departing from such resolutions, and what we felt at leaving Japan, it has been our lot to experience on saying good-bye (often for ever) to many pleasant places, and many kind friends, in regions sometimes as remote, and almost as little visited, as Japan. Our parting tenderness extended even to the gold-fish, that *last* morning as we plunged in amongst them, in the mimic pond close to our sleeping apartments; and we could not find in our heart to growl at the poor priest who came down to take notes of the English method of using soap and towel.

Our seamen had come up to the Embassy to assist in forwarding down the luggage to the boats. Jack was mightily amused with Johnny, as he called the Japanese, and the feeling was mutual, judging from the hearty laughter of the porters, priests, and policemen at the pantomime by which our men strove to make their wants understood. On one occasion, turning a corner rather abruptly, we found a jolly foretopman explaining by signs that he wanted something to pour down his throat that would make him dance, whereupon he cut a double shuffle, and reeled about the yard. Johnny perfectly understood, and repeated the performance. Jack's broad face beamed with delight. "Yes, that's it, grog! Come, bear a hand, my fine fellow," he exclaimed; and in anticipation of his want being quickly supplied, he expressed in strongest vernacular his high approval of the Johnnies in general. Happily for the Johnnies, we arrived in time to stay further proceedings; and sending for Yenoske the interpreter, we made him explain that Jack upon water, or Jack upon tea, was as harmless as a baby; but that Jack in a state of grog was simply an infuriated Briton—an animal likely to mar the domestic happiness of all within the temple enclosure, and very certain to break the peace. "Ah," said Yenoske—"ah! all the same as drunken Dutch sailor." Worse, we asserted, than fifty Dutchmen. "All the same one tiger!" suggested Yenoske, looking very serious. We told him that tigers the worse for liquor could not be more troublesome. Whereupon Yenoske explained to his countrymen the effects of grog upon our men in such strong terms, that neither for love nor money could they

get anything stronger than tea, and we were happy, if Jack was not.

From daybreak, stout-limbed porters, with a mere modicum of clothing, and a few of them very handsomely tattooed, were employed staggering along under cases of curiosities and manufactures, which had left many a purse perfectly empty; and neat-looking cages, containing each one or more little dogs, might be seen going seaward under especial convoy. Of these, the sweetest pets—though the first-lieutenant did not think so—that ever graced a drawing-room or played at a lady's feet, no less than thirteen eventually mustered on board the Furious, the property of the "Ambassadors," as our men would insist upon styling the whole of Lord Elgin's suite. These small Japanese spaniels are said to be of the King Charles breed, now so rare in England, and the fresh importation of stock ought to be a source of no small delight to those fair spinsters who delight in pretty pets and little dogs. Then of course some of us had to hurry away down an adjoining street to make a purchase, forgotten until the last moment, when the guide was detected instructing the shopman to ask thrice the proper price.

Our last dollar spent, we felt we could then do no more to prove our regard for Japan, and said a kind good-bye to all our acquaintances in the temple, presenting the worthy dignitary who was at its head with our last drop of eau-de-cologne, which he drank to our happy meeting at some future day. The native police attached to the Embassy looked *triste* at our departure; doubtless they had good cause, for we opine that they had enjoyed

many an extra feed of fish and rice, many a grateful pipe of fragrant tobacco, pleasant snoozes in shady corners, and many jolly evenings over bottles of good sakee, since they assumed the high office of watching the strangers who had so unceremoniously thrust themselves into the good city of Yedo. To be sure, their responsibility was great; for had the Ambassador and his followers insisted upon latch-keys, and taken to wringing off knockers, larking about the streets, or disturbing the peace in any way, these unfortunates, including even the Lieutenant-Governor and Yenoske, would have been soundly bambooed until we behaved better. Fortunately for our guardians, who were to be rewarded in proportion to our virtues, we were flatteringly assured through Yenoske that the British Embassy far surpassed Russians, Dutch, and Americans. We fear that in Japan they have learned to flatter!

After breakfast, horses were brought for those who wished to be early on board, and as we passed through the temple gate, an imperial procession, bearing a royal feast to Lord Elgin, was met. Never was a more solemn affair; every man in it looked as if the business of carrying royal dishes was a serious matter. Officers and men were clad much alike, in light silks or cottons, of a black-and-white striped pattern, and the royal servants all had a particular crest upon each arm, and on the front and back of their dress. It was almost a fac-simile of the Irish shamrock or trefoil. We had before remarked that the retainers of the different princes or chiefs bore the particular crest or arms of their master, so that heraldry is evidently a Japanese institution. All the

viands were carefully boxed up in large black lacker-ware cases, and were sent cooked from the royal kitchen. Those that partook of the feast described the dishes as being very palatable. As in China, nearly everything was stewed, and served up in small fragments, requiring only chop-stick and spoon, and very little exercise of the teeth. Fish and vegetables formed the basis of all the numerous *entrées*, and it would be quite worth Miss Acton's while to visit Yedo to learn how many changes may be rung with a stew-pan upon those two articles alone. Instead of sitting at the table to feed, the royal attendants made our stiff-jointed countrymen squat upon mats according to the custom of the country, an exception being made in favour of the Ambassador. Japanned tables, each about the size of our ordinary tea-trays, standing on legs nine inches high, were placed between every two Englishmen, these tables being loaded with smoking-hot dishes, one of which was always delicious rice. Everything was served upon lacker-ware,—dishes, plates, tumblers, and spoons, being all of that material, either red or black, with a slight ornamental work in imitation gold or silver. The attendance was perfect, and so was the extreme cleanliness with which everything was served.

Meantime we went to the imperial dockyard to embark, under the imposing escort of a couple of mounted officers, and preceded by two policemen dressed in their official costume, with quite as many colours in it as Joseph's could have had. The official in charge of the yard was the Japanese whom we have before mentioned as speaking English with a strong American negro accent.

The scoundrel asserted that he learnt English in a college in Yedo, from native instructors educated at Nangasaki. We asked Mori-hama about him one day when the Imperial Commissioners were present, and he repeated to them what we had been told. They laughed, and contradicted the statement, adding that our friend had learnt English in California! He had doubtless been one of those many Japanese seamen who have in former days been blown to sea in a native coaster, picked up by some American whaler, carried to California, and there had dwelt until the opening of his country to European intercourse enabled him to return, through American intercession, without forfeiting his life, according to the old laws of Japan. When we therefore met the worthy, we hinted that his fiction of an American or English college in Yedo would not do, for that we knew, from pretty good authority, that he had acquired his knowledge of English in the United States. Totally unabashed, however, he vowed he had never been out of Japan; and it was evident that, as yet, it was not fashionable, or *comme il faut*, in Japanese society, to own that one had been beyond its limits, vagabondising about the great world.

He had learnt a very great deal, with a large proportion of evil, and truth was not in the unfortunate man. He had a knowledge of sailoring and carpentering, but boasted that he was well versed in navigation and astronomy. A sextant happened to be at hand, and he was asked if he could observe the altitude of the heavenly bodies with it. "Oh, yes! he could even take a lunar!" He was asked to measure a very simple angle. It must be owned that his assurance was wonderful, for he took

up the instrument and proceeded to work with it upside down! "You are out of practice, my friend," said we. "Yes," was the rejoinder; "I hab'n done him for so long, that I forget how to *fix* him." Although he could not "fix" a sextant, he was up in some ordinary practical seamanship, and could build a boat upon European principles. He pointed to several very nice decked boats, schooner-rigged, which were in the bay, and said they had been constructed under his supervision, and that he had taught the crews to work them; and that, it was evident, they did very cleverly. To us it seemed melancholy that the only Japanese we had met whom it was impossible to like, should have been one who, more than any of his countrymen, had lived amongst Christians. Intercourse with foreigners, as in the case of many Asiatics it has been our fortune to meet, seemed to have destroyed the national characteristics, without substituting anything good in their place. The influence such men must have in prejudicing an inquisitive government like that of Yedo for or against European or American intercourse, must naturally be very great; and it was unfortunate that they should have so indifferent a specimen of the results of allowing Japanese to leave their own country.

The 26th August being the birthday of his Royal Highness the Prince-Consort, we, as loyal subjects, had not omitted to dress our ships with flags to do honour to the occasion; and the roar of our salutes at noon pealed through Yedo just as the Commissioners and Ambassador were affixing their signatures to the Treaty. Great was the excitement occasioned amongst the population

by the ships being so figged out, the salutes, and the fact that the Ambassador was going to embark officially, accompanied by the Commissioners, to hand over to them the beautiful yacht Emperor; and the city and bay became alive with Japanese, anxious to view and share in the gaiety. The day was bright and beautiful —Queen's weather again—and it was indeed a general holiday. Native craft, filled with pleasure-seekers, dotted the sparkling waters of the beautiful bay; all the government boats were out, their stern-sheets loaded with well-dressed personages, who, we had been told, were probably high officers, enjoying the privilege of seeing us "*niebon*," or incognito.

The officers belonging to one of the Japanese men-of-war visited us in a body, and soon spread themselves over the entire ship, inspecting and making notes of everything with praiseworthy industry. One was soon aloft on the yards and masts, examining the fittings, measuring the size of ropes and blocks. Going into a cabin in which hung the portraits of those two naval worthies, Admiral Sir John Franklin and Sir John Barrow, we found a group of Japanese formed round them. No sooner was it explained through Yenoske who they were, than a native officer made careful notes of their names, and then cleverly sketched in his book an outline of their features. Winterhalter's large portrait of her Majesty they were in ecstasies with; and seeing us take off our caps on turning towards it, the good fellows immediately made likewise their respectful obeisance to the likeness of our sovereign. They asked a host of intelligent questions about her dominions, fleets, and

armies. It was evident that the higher officials were pretty well posted up in the general state of Europe. For instance, to one group we showed a portrait of that much-loved admiral, Lord Lyons, and spoke of Sebastopol. The Japanese immediately said, "That was a great city you took from Russia;" and subsequently they asked if we had been at the taking of Canton. But invariably, when speaking of affairs out of Japan, they looked nervous, and, beyond a passing remark, flew off from the subject as if it were interdicted. Even Mr Hewskin, who spoke Dutch, a language very generally known amongst the officials, could never get them to converse at their ease upon such topics.

There was in the numerous boats around the ships a fair sprinkling of women or ladies, as well as many children. They all seemed of a highly respectable class, and none of the graceful nymphs of the tea or peach gardens came afloat to increase the damage they had already done to the hearts of our susceptible blue-jackets. We believe this was in consequence of an injunction of the police, under orders from some higher quarter: possibly the Commissioners thought that, amongst other foreign fancies, it might enter the heads of the English to carry off specimens of the pretty little pets in the tea-gardens, insisting upon our right to purchase them under the head of "unenumerated articles" in the new tariff. Anyhow, black teeth prevailed upon this occasion amongst the ladies, who in other respects were a charming addition to the scene of animation and pleasure.

About three o'clock the barge of H.M.S. Furious, bearing the British Ambassador and suite, was seen

leaving the shore, and at the same time a native boat with the Commissioners, in full costume, proceeded towards the yacht. The dress of these latter gentlemen was more than ordinarily handsome, especially that of the Lord High Admiral. Captain Barker, the senior naval officer, as the deputy of the naval Commander-in-Chief, received the Commissioners and the Earl of Elgin on board the yacht, and in a short speech expressed his sense of the honour conferred upon himself in being deputed to hand over to the Commissioners this token of goodwill and friendship: the Commissioners replied in equally warm terms, and then the English ensigns were hauled down from the Emperor's mastheads and ensign staff, and the Japanese colours were substituted. This act being formally carried out, the Japanese forts fronting the city saluted with a royal salute of twenty-one guns; and uncommonly well they did it too. We returned it, and assuredly all will join in the prayer that the friendship thus saluted may be lasting between us, and beneficial to the good people of Japan. Not the least interesting part of this day's doings was the moving and working of the Emperor yacht, directly she became Japanese, under the management of a native captain, engineer, and crew. Her machinery was of the most recent construction—horizontal cylinders, trunk engines, and other peculiarities; yet they mastered all these, under the English officers, after a week's instruction; having, of course, previously understood an ordinary old-fashioned engine. Passing round the squadron under steam, she disembarked all her English visitors, and we had the pleasure of seeing the yacht proceed

towards the city, to land the Imperial Commissioners.

At first the Japanese suggested that they should call the yacht the London, out of compliment to our capital, which alone they believed, could compare with their own; but for some reason or other they eventually named her the Dragon, and, as such, H.I.M.Y. Dragon will doubtless be of great use as a pleasure-boat to all but the imprisoned monarch for whom it was intended. A few weeks after our visit, when the ambassador of France, Baron Gros, made his appearance in the Bay of Yedo, he found the Dragon steaming about, and we heard that his excellency made more than one trip in her, under the safe charge of a Japanese captain and engineers.

It was late before all our farewells to our Yedo friends were over; their final act was to bring off some five-and-twenty robes of honour as presents from the Emperor to Lord Elgin. They were wonderful articles, of the richest silk, stamped or dyed with the loudest patterns—sunflowers and pumpkins prevailing. In cut and shape the robes resembled dressing-gowns, though much larger, and they were quilted with raw silk to a thickness of at least four inches! The Councillors of State, seated round the Tai-koon in such robes at an official levee, must be as gorgeous a sight as a tulip-bed. As the officers deputed to present these dresses on board the Furious begged to be allowed to arrange the royal presents according to their custom, the quarterdeck soon presented an appearance which would have tried the nerves of the oldest and most experienced officer in the

British navy, so much more did it resemble Swan and Edgar's than any place under a pendant.

Two hours before daybreak on the 27th August we weighed and proceeded to sea, not without a hope and prayer that in our wanderings we might yet one day revisit Yedo. Our stay there had been a bright oasis in the sameness of our existence in China, and we hailed with joy, on behalf of our professional brethren employed in protecting commerce in the far East, the prospect of an occasional visit to the interesting and healthy islands of Japan. The Peak of Fusi-hama shone far above the ranges of mountains in the interior a short half-hour, and we bid "the peerless one" a long farewell.

Calm and majestic as Fusi-hama looks from the sea, the "matchless one" was born of volcanic action. If Japanese history tells true, the birth of the young lady —for she is a mere infant in age amongst mountains— was attended with a fearful convulsion of the whole island of Nipon; and in the self-same night, in the 285 B.C., that the great cone of Fusi-hami rose from the plain, not far from it was formed the great lake of Mitsu —as if the crust of the earth had sunk down in one spot, and bubbled up in another. Fusi-hama was an active volcano for many centuries. The last great eruption occurred on the 23d day of the 11th moon, 1707, when, with two violent shocks of earthquake, the crest of the mountain opened, vomited flames, and hurled cinders for many leagues; and on the 25th and 26th, huge masses of rock and hot sand were projected over the adjoining country; and even in Yedo, fifty miles distant, ashes fell to a thickness of several inches.

Fusi-hama has, it is to be hoped, grown less dangerous as she has grown older, for we were told that no volcanic fire existed now in the crater. But hot springs are numerous, and earthquakes, alas! sadly destructive in the island of Nīpon, and there seems reason to fear that the volcanic fires merely slumber, and are by no means extinct.

Our pleasant task draws to a close; we will not take our reader out into another gale of wind, in a paddle-wheel frigate; one such trial ought to be quite enough for any one. It blew so hard, and the wind was so villanously fair, that we could not even muster the shadow of an excuse for not pushing ahead for China, and, *mal gré, bon gré*, were forced down the east coast of the Japanese group at the exciting rate of eleven miles an hour, leaving all the wonders of the Suwonada Sea, its labyrinth of islands and commerce-laden waters, for some future day. We grieved to think of leaving Hiogo, the new port within Kino Straits, unvisited, as well as Ozaka and Miako, of which huge cities it is the seaport and outlet. We feel sure the reader will sympathise with us as, turning from Japan, we looked forward to the precious tossing about that was in store for us at sea, with high-flavoured Shanghai at the end of our voyage!

THE FIGHT ON THE PEIHO

IN 1859

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THE FIGHT ON THE PEIHO

IN 1859

THE satisfactory intelligence which the British public had for a long time been receiving from China sustained a sudden and alarming check in the autumn of 1859. From the hard-fought action of Fatshan and assault of Canton in 1857 to the first capture of the Taku forts, and subsequent dictation of a treaty in 1858 at Tientsin, all had gone in favour of the arms of England; and the skill of her Ambassador, Lord Elgin, had again placed our interests in the farther East upon a promising basis for the future. There was some hope at least, men said, of a cessation of those expensive Chinese wars which once threatened to become chronic. Her Majesty's Ministers hailed the Treaty of Tientsin as a godsend, proclaimed it by sound of trump, dashed it scornfully in the teeth of troublesome members of Parliament who complained of the cost of Chinese triumphs, and crowned their triumph by pointing to the treaty with the Tycoon of Japan as a work of pure supererogation which must cover all future shortcomings.

Downing Street triumphant, and with its tail up, is by no means rational. Downing Street forgot to read all Lord Elgin's despatches, or to study the difficulties already surrounding his brother at Shanghai. Downing Street did not remember that their treaty was a mere "I promise to pay" of an Eastern potentate, who would surely evade his engagements directly the sword which had made him sign that treaty was withdrawn; and as Downing Street did not appreciate this fact, our Admiralty and Horse-Guards were instructed to largely reduce the forces in China, and to consider our pacific relations with Pekin as an *affair fini*. The ratification of the treaty in 1859, as stipulated in 1858, was considered a mere bagatelle.

Self-congratulation was at its height in England when a crushing telegram arrived with the news of the hostile reception of our Envoy, and that our naval forces in China had experienced a bloody and disastrous repulse at Taku!

When, through the negligence or want of forethought of a public department, some sad disaster falls upon us, there is no safer canon to avert censure than to adroitly and quietly impute the blame to others—if soldiers or sailors, so much the better—and thus forestall public indignation. This course was at once cleverly adopted, and for a while men were led to suppose that the fight on the Peiho had been brought about by some blunder of our naval officers. Prigs in office, who knew neither of the locality nor the circumstances under which the action had been fought, talked of some mistake that would not have happened had they been present, and wagged their

heads as they muttered, in vague terms, their objection to attacks in front, as if a flank attack had been possible.

All this irritation at defeat was but natural and English; its practical application by Downing Street to screen it from just censure was according to rule; but what really touched the heart of a profession whose representatives had fallen nobly, and been ably led by a gallant Admiral in a severe sea-fight, was the silence of the Admiralty as represented in either House of Parliament. It might have been politic, but it was very scurvy treatment, to let the blame rest even for a day on innocent men, in order that ministerial delinquents might not be taken to task; and it is such a policy, such a wretched system, in which justice to a profession is ever being sacrificed to first one party and then another, that we feel convinced has rendered the Admiralty of Great Britain the most unpopular department of the State.

In the case before us a tardy *amende* was conceded to the survivors of the fight; but that appreciation of the noble bearing, under terrible circumstances, of our sailors, came, in the first place, we are proud to say, from the columns of 'Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine;' and when the tale of so much heroism, though unsuccessfully displayed, came to be repeated with pride throughout this earnest land, then it was, and not till then, that lame justice was done by poor narrow-minded officialdom.

We shall now proceed to narrate the circumstances of this desperate action, one which we hold the Brit-

ish navy has more reason to be proud of than many a victory.

On September 15th, 1858, our Foreign Office received a despatch from Lord Elgin dated July 12th, 1858, enclosing the Treaty of Tientsin, not only signed by the Imperial Commissioners, but every stipulation therein contained assented to by an Imperial decree.* The Ambassador of England, in placing this valuable Treaty before the Minister of his august Sovereign, was singularly frank in explaining to him the humiliation to which he had subjected the Court of Pekin, and that fear rather than reason had brought about the submission of the Emperor Hien-fung. In Lord Elgin's own words, the concessions amounted "to a revolution, and involve the surrender of some of the most cherished principles of the traditional policy of the Empire. *They have been extorted, therefore, from its fears.*"

Thus, in September 1858, the Ministry and Admiralty knew, if no one else did, that this Treaty was wrung from the Chinese, and that on or before June 26th, 1859, the copy of that Treaty, ratified by the Sovereign of Britain, was to be exchanged at Pekin.

Both these departments must have known that, as the English Treaty contained two important clauses,† which all the other Powers represented at Tientsin had

* See Blue-Book, papers on China in 1859, p. 360, Despatch No. 186.

† "Art. III. The permanent residence of a British Ambassador, with family and suite, at Pekin."

"Art. IX. British subjects to travel to all parts of the interior of China, for purposes of trade or pleasure."

despicably waved at a critical moment, if the Court of Pekin demurred to the final ratification of any of those treaties, that demurrer would first fall upon the English one, as the chief offender.

Supposing that Lord Elgin's despatches, which accompanied the Treaty, failed to enlighten the Ministry upon the extremely delicate nature of the final negotiations at Tientsin, and supposing even that neither in Downing Street nor Whitehall was the 'Times' ever read, and that the Hon. Mr Bruce, Secretary of Embassy, failed to enlighten our Foreign Office of the difficulties which surrounded his brother on the 26th June 1858; still we say, allowing all this, there is in the end of the Blue-Book another despatch from Lord Elgin,* which reached Downing Street on December 29th, 1858, the perusal of which ought to have warned any one of the critical nature of the task which awaited the diplomatist and the naval Commander-in-Chief in the summer of 1859.

In that despatch (No. 216) the strong representations of the Chinese Ministers against the permanent residence of the Ambassador in Pekin were clearly put forward—the Imperial order to reconstruct the Taku forts, as well as to fortify the approaches to Pekin, was distinctly mentioned—the attention of our Ministry was recalled to some despatch (which, we own, does not exist in the Blue-Book) in which the critical state of the negotiations, on the very eve of the signature of the Treaty, was explained to them—and finally, her Majesty's Ministers are warned that an enforcement of that clause in its full

* See Blue-Book, p. 486, Despatch No. 216, bearing date Shanghai, Nov. 5, 1858.

integrity would probably compel the Emperor to choose "*between a desperate attempt at resistance, and passive acquiescence in what he and his advisers believe to be the greatest calamity which could befall the Empire.*"

According to rule, Admiral James Hope received his commission as Commander-in-Chief in the East Indies and China, when his predecessor had completed his period of service. Nothing could have been more decorous. He left England by the overland mail in March 1859, and, on arriving at Singapore, found Admiral Sir Michael Seymour awaiting his arrival there, in order that he might take his passage home in the next mail-boat. Here those two officers met, the one with the acquired knowledge of three years' command in those remote seas, and thoroughly conversant with Chinese tactics, military, naval, or diplomatic; the other, though well known as an officer of great ability and unflinching firmness, still perfectly ignorant of the nature of the country and people with whom he had to deal, the constituent parts of his force, its adequacy or otherwise for the task assigned it, and the amount of moral or physical support he was likely to get from our allies, the French. Admiral Hope, upon all these points, must have looked to Admiral Seymour for information.

Yet, strange to say, within a few hours—it appears to us, only forty-eight hours—after Admiral Hope arrives in Singapore, Admiral Seymour is steaming home in a Peninsular and Oriental boat. This was in accordance with old-fashioned naval etiquette, by which it was customary for admirals whose term of service had expired to hasten off their late station directly they were relieved.

Questions of shares in prize-money, freight, and war-batta had much to do with a system which was calculated far more for private convenience than public interest. In this case, we believe, the sudden way in which one flag-officer was launched into a strange command, at a critical moment, without the aid he might have received by a month's intercourse with his predecessor, was a fatal mistake; and it is to be hoped that for the future the Admiralty will insist that one commander-in-chief shall not rush off a station directly his successor arrives, but remain until the new admiral has been put in full possession of all information acquired during the tenure of office of the departing officer.

On the 16th April 1859, Rear-Admiral James Hope assumed command; he was then at Singapore. On that very day he ought to have been with a force to support our Ambassador off the mouth of the Peiho river! It was not his fault that he was not there; and he appears to have lost no time in providing for the wants of his extensive command—organising his forces, despatching stores and coals northward, securing the safety of the enormous mercantile interests in China should a rupture arise, and meeting the deficiency occasioned by our Government having counted upon the aid of French sailors and soldiers to some considerable extent, whereas those gentry were busy conquering Cochin-China.

A despatch from the new Minister, Mr Bruce, dated May 21st, 1859, tells us that another difficulty had to be met by the Admiral at this juncture—namely, that the Admiralty had ordered a further reduction of the

squadron in China, whilst he (Mr Bruce) had become so alarmed by the proceedings of the Court of Pekin, that it was imperatively necessary he should be escorted to Taku or Tientsin by as strong a force as that which had supported Lord Elgin in 1858. Of course the Admiralty, in giving such an order, fancied that Admiral Hope would be joined in China by the French squadron under Admiral Rigault de Genouille; but, as usual, they counted without their host, and out of all that French squadron, no vessel capable of crossing the bar of the Peiho river could be spared.

There was another difficulty—if possible a still more serious one than the absence of French support, when it was counted upon,—and this was the occupation of Canton by the British forces. It deprived Admiral Hope of the services of a battalion of her Majesty's Royal Regiment, and a number of marines and marine artillery; it rendered the presence of a considerable naval force necessary in its vicinity; and instead of the Major-General and staff being able to go where service in the field was almost imminent, they were shut up in that wretched collection of fusty houses dignified with the title of the City of Canton.

Instead of sitting down, and writing home for reinforcements and instructions, Admiral Hope did what an energetic admiral should do: he hastened to the northward with every available man and vessel, ready to support the Minister, Mr Bruce, in all such measures as he might deem necessary. We have yet to learn on what day Mr Bruce was able to leave Hong-Kong for Shanghai; but he distinctly says he proceeded to the latter

port, where the Chinese Commissioners were waiting for him, as soon as his French colleague was ready; and bearing in mind that by the Treaty of Tientsin we were pledged to exchange ratifications in Pekin by June 26th, and that the presence of the Imperial Commissioners at Shanghai was very suspicious, we can sympathise with Mr Bruce's feelings in being thus delayed by his ally at such a crisis.

On or about the 11th June 1859, the Admiral and his squadron sailed from Shanghai for the Gulf of Pechili; and the Sha-liu-tien, or Wide-spreading Sand Islands, fifteen miles off the entrance of the Peiho river, was given as the general rendezvous.

Mr Bruce and Monsieur Bourbollon sailed four days afterwards for the same destination; they had found the Commissioners Kweiliang and Hwashana merely "armed with pretexts to detain them, and prevent their visit to the Peiho;" and from all they had learned at Shanghai, there could be no doubt that every obstacle awaited the diplomatists as well as executives of Europe in their forthcoming visit to Pekin.

Yet we cannot see that either Mr Bruce or Admiral Hope would have been justified in any misgivings as to the issue of measures that might be deemed necessary to enforce their Treaty rights; and had it been possible for them at this juncture to have telegraphed the state of affairs to either Downing Street or Whitehall, we believe that the Ministry would have said,—Proceed to Tientsin—these impediments have been anticipated; a Treaty wrung by force of arms from an Eastern despot cannot be expected to be ratified without some demur:—and as

no one, we believe, had taken the trouble to ascertain the nature of the new fortifications of Taku, it was a very natural inference that they would not differ, to any great extent, from all the many fortifications which the British had fought and taken elsewhere in China.

On June 17th, H.M.S. Chesapeake, bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral Hope, arrived at the anchorage under the Sha-liu-tien Islands, and on that day and the next his squadron assembled round him; but without waiting for all to arrive, the Admiral embarked on the 17th on board a gunboat, the Plover, and, escorted by the Starling, proceeded over the bar of the Peiho river, to inform the authorities of the anticipated arrival of the Plenipotentiaries, and to ascertain what obstructions, if any, existed at Taku. Admiral Hope found a number of earthworks standing upon the site of the old forts destroyed in 1858, and the river was rendered quite impassable by a triple series of booms and stakes. The fortifications seemed well constructed, singularly neat and finished in outline for Chinese earthworks; there were but few guns seen; most of the embrasures looked as if filled up with matting; and for the first time at a military post in China there was a total absence of all display, and no tents or flags denoted a strong garrison being stationed within the works.

The officer who was sent on shore with the Admiral's communication was refused permission to go farther than the beach, and the Chinese who met him said that they were militiamen in charge of the earthworks; that the booms and stakes were placed as a precaution against rebels or pirates; that the Ambassadors ought to go to

another river ten miles farther north, which was the true Peiho river; and concluded by assuring the English officer that they acted upon their own responsibility in all they said and did, as no high officers were at hand. Some expostulations which were offered against the existence of the barriers in the river, as obstacles to the Ambassador's friendly visit to Tientsin, were received in good part, and they promised within forty-eight hours to set about removing them.

Such was the result of the Admiral's first reconnaissance of the Taku earthworks, and decidedly there was nothing seen to excite alarm, or awaken suspicion as to the admirable ambuscade which he was being drawn into. In fact, an examination of one face of well-masked earthworks must always lead to a very erroneous estimate of their strength—Sebastopol, to wit. The only way in which true information could have been gleaned was by keeping an intelligent officer in the Gulf of Pechili, and making him watch the Peiho river from the cessation of hostilities in 1858 up to the date of the intended ratification; but that was a duty for which Admiral Hope can in no way be held responsible.

We will now proceed to describe the scene of the coming battle, and give that information of which Admiral Hope ought to have been put in possession.

The Peiho, or North river, has its source in the highlands of Mantchouria, at no very great distance from Pekin, and passes within twelve miles of that capital. The velocity of the stream, arising more from the altitude of its source than from its volume, has scoured out a narrow and very tortuous channel to the south-east,

through the deep alluvial plain of Pechili, and cut into the stratum of stiff clay beneath it. As the stream approaches the sea, it flows for the last five miles through a plain, which is little, if at all, above the level of high water during spring-tides; the consequence is, that instead of cutting a channel for itself fairly out into the Gulf of Pechili, the force of the current in the stream becomes very much weakened by being able to inundate the adjoining banks whenever there is a freshet in the river, and the waters discharge themselves over a great bank, known as "the bar." This bar, of hard tenacious clay, extends out to seaward in a great curve, of which the arc is fully six miles, and its width at low water, from a depth of ten feet water without the bar to ten feet water within it, is nearly four geographical miles. Over this bar, at high tide, a channel exists, in which there is eleven feet of water; but at low water there is only twenty-four inches in most places, with extensive dry mud banks on either hand.

Immediately within the bar of the Peiho there is an anchorage for small vessels and gunboats, where they can float at low water; but they are then only two thousand yards from the fortifications, and necessarily under fire from heavy guns and mortars; whilst vessels outside the bar could neither support them, nor touch the fortifications by anything like an effective fire from guns or mortars.

Within the bar, the channel of the Peiho winds upward for a mile between precipitous banks of mud, which are treacherously covered at high tide, and render the navigation at that time very hazardous. Beyond this,

the seaman finds himself between two reed-covered banks which constitute the real sides of the Peiho river, and at the same time he is surrounded on every side by earthworks, which, from the peculiar configuration of this last reach of the stream, face and flank him on every side. These fortifications stand either upon natural or artificial elevations of some ten or twelve feet general altitude, and even at high water look down upon a vessel in the channel—an advantage which becomes all the more serious when the tide has fallen, as it does fall, some ten to twelve feet. The actual channel of the river is never more than three hundred feet wide until the forts are entirely passed, and the current runs past the face of the works at the rate of three miles per hour.

The left-hand bank, looking up the stream, projects more to seaward than the right-hand one, and on it stood in 1858 three mounds of earth thirty feet high, well faced with solid masonry; a double flight of stone steps in the rear led to their summits, and within them was a hollow chamber admirably adapted for magazines of powder. The summit was a level space two hundred yards square, capable of fighting three guns on each face, except in the rear, which was perfectly open. Upon these cavaliers men and guns looked down at all times of tide upon the channel of the river, and fought in comparative security from anything like horizontal fire. Round these cavaliers heavy mud-batteries were now constructed, of twenty-two feet vertical height, so as to screen their basements from anything like a breaching fire. These batteries had guns perfectly casemated, and

were connected into one great work by a series of curtains, pierced, like the bastions, for casemated guns, and covered by flanking fire, and by wet as well as dry ditches. The Grand Battery was pierced for fifty guns, and with the exception of those on the cavaliers, every embrasure was fitted with an excellent mantlet. Above and below the grand work, though probably connected with it by a covered-way, were two waspish-looking flanking forts. Each had a cavalier; and the one to seaward was excellently constructed, and looked like a three-tier earthen battery. On the right-hand bank stood another series of works, only inferior in importance to those on the opposite side, and finished with equal care. The right-hand works raked any vessels advancing beyond the seaward angle of the grand fort.

Apart from these fortifications, three barriers had been constructed in the river where the channel was narrowest, and admirably calculated to detain vessels immediately under the fire of the works. Hitherto, however, in Chinese warfare, it had invariably been observed that, although they constructed massive fortifications, and placed ingenious impediments in their rivers, the guns' crews would not stand to their guns at close action, and that they did not understand the art of concentrating their guns upon vessels when checked by booms or rafts, and, consequently, it was always easy to outflank or turn their works in any way we thought proper.

It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that the major part of the above information was acquired subsequent to the action we are relating. The topography and

geographical features of the country were, however, well known to the officers who had served in the river during the year 1858, although we have reason to believe that Admiral Hope had neither a chart nor plan of the Taku forts supplied to him.

During the 18th and 19th June, the squadron moved from the Sha-liu-tien islands to the anchorage immediately off the bar of the Peiho river, the smaller vessels passing within it for security against the seas and winds of the Gulf of Pechili; and on the latter day the English and French Ministers arrived in H.M.S. Magicienne, and H.I.M. corvette Duchayla. The appearance of all these vessels, and the passage of the bar by a portion of them, did not excite the slightest notice, or appear to give any alarm to the Chinese. All was as quiet and sleepy as the most fastidious admirer of Chinese scenery could desire. The great broad plains of Pechili spread away to the north and south; the upward portion of the river could be traced, until lost in mirage, by the masts of the countless trading-junks which annually arrive at Tientsin from all parts of China. The long and straggling village of Taku was hid by the mound-like outline of the southern forts, except the Temple, from which, in 1858, the Governor-General of Pechili, one Tān, had made an ignominious flight before our dashing little gunboats Banterer, Leven, and Opossum. Its quaint turned-up roof, with its cockey little air, was the only thing, inanimate or animate, that gave the slightest sign of defiance to the "red-haired barbarians."

Mr Bruce arrived at the entrance of the Peiho river exactly *six* days before the expiration of the period for

the ratification of the Treaty at Pekin; and in that land of ceremony and etiquette Mr Bruce well knew that, if our Envoy did not make a strenuous effort to fulfil his engagement, and appear at Tientsin or Pekin within the stipulated date, the reactionary party, which was doing all in its power to subvert the treaties of 1858, would immediately magnify that breach of contract into a premeditated slight to the Emperor, and an indignity to the Court of one whom five hundred millions of souls actually worship. When Mr Bruce, therefore, hastened to announce his arrival, and requested to be allowed to pass through the barriers at Taku to Tientsin, he was simply told to go elsewhere; and the barriers were obstinately kept closed, whilst the apparently stolid militiamen declared they did so on their own responsibility.*

What was Mr Bruce to do under such circumstances? There were but two measures open to him—the one was to request the Admiral to remove the barriers placed, as they declared, by *local* authorities, without the cognisance of the Imperial Government, and proceed to Tientsin, where he was pledged to appear on a certain date; the other course was to go to some place mentioned by these pretended militiamen, as one likely to lead the Minister to Pekin.

Mr Bruce very naturally and very wisely, as the issue in the case of the American Envoy showed,† determined

* See three final paragraphs of Mr Bruce's Despatch, July 13, 1859, in the 'Times,' Oct. 6, 1859.

† The American Minister, after the repulse of Taku, adopted the second course: his triumphal entry into Pekin in a cart, his close confinement whilst there, the attempt to make him worship the Emperor, the insult of ordering him back to the sea-shore for a

to go to Tientsin; and as he could not reach it except through the barriers, and past the forts which watched them, he and M. Bourbollon, on the 21st June, after recapitulating their reasons, told Admiral Hope that they "*have therefore resolved to place the matter in your hands, and to request you to take any measures you may deem expedient for clearing away the obstructions in the river, so as to allow us to proceed at once to Tientsin.*" This is plain and straightforward language—a simple request; and with its policy the Admiral very likely must have felt he had nothing to do. He was called upon to open the road to Tientsin; he had around him such a force as his masters considered ample for an emergency, of which they were forewarned; it was his duty to endeavour to carry out the task assigned him.

Admiral Hope at once wrote a formal note to the authorities, informing them that, should the obstructions in the river not be removed by the evening of the 24th June, so as to allow the Allied Ministers to proceed to Tientsin, as they indubitably had a right to do under the sign-manual of the Emperor, he, Admiral Hope, should proceed to clear the road. It was concise and to the purpose.

On that day the force at Admiral Hope's disposal was as follows:—Outside the bar, and incapable of crossing it, Chesapeake, Captain G. Willes; Magicienne, Captain N. Vansittart; Highflyer, Captain C. F. Shadwell; Cruiser, Commander J. Bythesea; Fury, Commander

worthless ratification, and the entire question of the readjustment of the tariff being referred back to a subordinate at Shanghai, is conclusive proof of what we should have gained by adopting such a course.

John Commerell, V.C.; Assistance, Commander W. A. Heath; and Hesper (store-ship), Master-commander Jabez Loane; the French corvette Duchayla, Commander Tricault; and tender Nosogary.

The vessels capable of crossing the bar and engaging the forts were the

	Guns.	Howitzers.	Commanders.
1. Nimrod, ...	6	0	R. S. Wynniatt.
2. Cormorant, ...	6	0	A. Wodehouse.
3. Lee. ...	2	2	Lieut. W. H. Jones.
4. Opossum, ...	2	2	C. J. Balfour.
5. Haughty, ...	2	2	G. D. Broad.
6. Forester, ...	2	2	A. F. Innes.
7. Banterer, ...	2	2	J. Jenkins.
8. Starling, ...	2	2	J. Whitshed.
9. Plover, ...	2	2	Hector Rason.
10. Janus, ...	2	2	H. P. Knevit.
11. Kestrel, ...	2	2	J. D. Bevan.
	30 guns	18 howitzers,	

and a combined rocket-battery of twenty-two 12 and 24-pounders. The total crews of these gun-vessels amounted to about five hundred officers and men.

A gale of wind and heavy rain prevented much being done on the 22d, but by the night of the 23d all the vessels capable of crossing the bar were assembled within it; and early on the 24th June, the marines from Canton, under Colonel Lemon, as well as those of the larger vessels, and the armed boats and small-arm-men, were assembled on board certain junks placed on the bar to receive them. This force, seven hundred strong, was intended as an assaulting party and reserve, under Colonel Lemon, and Commanders Commerell and Heath. The Admiral, moreover, placed the Coromandel and

Nosogary as hospitals, as far out of range as it was possible to anchor them.

The delight of the gallant little force under Admiral Hope was very great when the sun set on the 24th June, and no letter in reply to his communication of the 22d had been received. It augured well that the stupid mandarins at the Peiho would refuse to abandon their works until they were forced, and then all felt assured of a fight and victory. There was not a single misgiving as to the result of a combat; and if any was expressed, it was a fear that all they would have to do would be to pull up the stakes, instead of the Chinamen doing it themselves. As yet, nothing had occurred to excite the Admiral's suspicions of the nature of the opposition to be encountered, although he had, ever since the day of his arrival off the river, especially deputed Commander John Bythesea* and Lieutenant W. H. Jones in the Lee, to narrowly watch the forts and river, to see if anything like an increase of garrison, or the nature of the armament, could be detected. But in order that a charge of want of preparation for battle might not hereafter be imputed to him, the gallant chief made every arrangement for taking up positions exactly as he would have done had he been at war instead of at peace with China.

The first thing done was to see whether the stakes or rafts could be destroyed in the night by boats. Accordingly, when it was quite dark, three boats' crews, under

* This gallant officer, who carried off one of the Victoria crosses won in the Baltic fleet of 1855, was stricken down with Peiho fever, brought on by exposure while employed on this duty, and was consequently unable to share directly in the bloody laurels of the 25th June.

Lieutenant Wilson, Mr Egerton (mate), and Mr Hartland (boatswain), commanded by Captain Willes, the flag-captain, started to make the attempt. Anxiously were they watched for. At last two loud explosions, the flash and report of a gun or two from the forts, the return of the boats, and the cheers of the excited crews of the gunboats, told the joy with which was hailed the double act of hostility—a pledge for the morrow's fight. Captain Willes brought back full information of the stubborn nature of the obstacles opposed to the flotilla, and that it was impossible to make a dash up the stream to take the works in reverse.

The barriers were three in number. The first extended across the channel, at an elbow where the curvature of the mud-banks placed vessels ascending the stream stem on, or in a raking position to the face of the Grand Battery. It consisted of a single row of iron stakes, nine inches in girth, and with a tripod base, so as to preserve an upright position in spite of the velocity of the stream. The top of each stake was pointed, as well as a sharp spur which stuck out from its side, and at high water these dangerous piles were hidden beneath the surface of the river. This barrier was 550 yards distant from the centre of the Grand Battery on the left, and 900 yards from the forts on the right hand.

The second barrier was placed 450 yards above the iron piles, and immediately abreast the centre of the fortifications. It consisted of one eight-inch hemp and two heavy chain-cables placed across the stream at a distance of twelve feet from each other: they were hove as taut as possible, and supported by large spars

placed transversely at every thirty feet: each spar was carefully moored both up and down stream.

The third barrier consisted of two massive rafts of rough timber, lashed and cross-lashed in all directions with rope and chain, and admirably moored a few feet above one another, so as to leave a letter S opening, above which were more iron stakes, so placed as to impede any gunboats dashing through the opening, supposing all other obstacles overcome. The ingenuity of the arrangement here was most perfect. The force of the current would only allow the passage at this point to be effected at top of high water: at that time the iron piles were covered with water, and their position being unknown, the chances were all in favour of a vessel becoming impaled upon them.

Captain Willes had passed through the interstices between the iron stakes of the first barrier, and leaving two boats to secure the explosion cylinders under the cables of the second barrier, he and Lieutenant Wilson pushed on to the third barrier or raft. They crawled over it, and although they could see the sentries walking up and down at either end, and they must have been seen by the garrison of the forts, which towered above them at the short distance of 150 yards upon the right and left, neither party molested the other. Satisfied of the solid nature of the obstacle, and that a mere gunboat pressing against it would never force away all the anchors or cables with which it was secured, Captain Willes returned to the second barrier, and exploded his charges, occasioning a breach apparently wide enough for a vessel to pass; but a carefully-directed fire from a

gun or two in the forts warned him to desist. There was, however, no general alarm on shore, and the works did not, as might have been expected, open a general fire, or develop their formidable character.

It was evident that Admiral Hope had now but one resource left, namely, an attack upon the enemy's front: a flank attack was impossible, for it would have been simple folly to have landed seven hundred marines and sailors outside the bar, either to the northward or southward of Taku; the force was far too small to risk such a manœuvre. The Commander-in-Chief's plan was simple and judicious. He had eleven gun-vessels; nine of them were to anchor close to the first barrier, as nearly abreast as possible without masking each other's guns. Captain Willes in the Opossum was to secure tackles to one of the iron piles, ready to pull it up when ordered, and then, under cover of the anchored gun-vessels, the Admiral and Flag-Captain in the Plover and Opossum were to pass on to the destruction of the second and third barriers. Whilst the Admiral thus carefully made his plans to meet a strong resistance, few in the squadron thought of anything but the fun and excitement of the coming day: many a witty anticipation was expressed as to promotion for another bloodless Chinese victory, mingled with jokes at the foolish obstinacy of John Chinaman.

Daylight came; the forts were deceitfully calm; some thought an embrasure or two had been added during the night, but it was only certain that the second barrier, where it had been broken during the night by Captain Willes, was again thoroughly repaired. Everything had the appearance of simple obstinacy. With cock-crow

all was activity in the squadron; at half-past three in the morning, a chorus of boatswains'-mates' whistles had sent all hands to their breakfasts, and by four o'clock the vessels commenced to drop up into their assigned positions. The flood-tide was running strong, a muddy turbid stream flowing up a tortuous gutter; gradually that gutter filled, and the waters, ruffled by a fresh breeze, spread on either hand over the mud-banks, and eventually washed the border of the reed-covered plain, and touched the basements of the huge masses of earth which constituted the forts of Taku. These lay silent and lifeless, except where at the flag-staff of one waved two black banners, ominously emblematic of the bloody day they were about to witness.

The Admiral commenced to move his squadron into action thus early, anticipating that by the time the flood-tide had ceased running, every vessel would have reached her position, the distance in no case being more than a mile; but the narrowness of the channel, the strength of the breeze, and force of current, occasioned great delay by forcing first one gunboat and then another ashore on the mud banks; added to which, the great length of the despatch-vessels, Nimrod and Cormorant, caused them, when canting or swinging across the channel, to almost block it up. The consequence was, that the squadron was not ready for action at 11.30 A.M., or high water. Prior to high water it would have been folly to have commenced action. No judicious naval officer would engage an enemy's works at close quarters whilst a flood-tide was sweeping in towards them. Had Admiral Hope done so, every one of his disabled vessels and boats, as

well as every wounded man, would have fallen into the hands of the Chinese; and, moreover, the difficulty of anchoring by the stern in gunboats, in so strong a tide-way, can only be appreciated by seamen, and would have probably resulted in the whole force falling aboard of one another, and being swept by the flood-tide, in one mass, under the concentrated fire of all the batteries.

By one o'clock the ebb-tide was running strong; all the vessels were by that time in position assigned, except the Banterer and Starling, and they were hopelessly aground, though in positions which enabled them to co-operate to some extent. The Admiral prepared to remove the barriers, and issued his final instructions. To those who say that Admiral Hope ought to have acted earlier in the day, during the flood-tide, we have merely to point to the issue of the combat into which he was inveigled, and reply, that had there been two more hours daylight, we hardly think a ship or man would have been saved.

At two P.M. the Admiral, whose flag was flying on board the Plover, signalised to the Opossum to remove the iron pile to which she was secured, and thus to make a passage through the first barrier. This the Opossum's officers and men, by means of tackles and steam-power, succeeded in accomplishing in thirty minutes. The Commander-in-Chief now led up to the second barrier, followed closely by the Flag-Captain in the Opossum. These were moments of intense excitement for those in the covering flotilla, as well as for the impatient assaulting-party anchored on the bar of the river. Every eye was directed upon the batteries under which the gallant Rason was

bearing the flag of his chief. The oft-repeated question of "I wonder whether the rascals will fight?" was about to be answered; and that moment of eager expectation, which all men feel before they join in combat, made every heart beat quick, and silenced every tongue. As the stem of the Plover touched the barrier, a single gun served as a signal to all the works, and in a minute a concentrated fire of forty heavy pieces opened upon the little craft. In the words of the seamen, "it seemed as if the vessels had struck an infernal machine." The Plover and Opossum were wreathed in fire and smoke, above which the flag of the gallant Admiral waved defiantly.

A rush and stamp of men to their quarters sounded through the flotilla, and as the Admiral threw out the signal, "*Engage the enemy*," with the red pendant under, indicating "*as close as possible*," the cheers of the delighted ships' companies mingled with the roar of that first hearty broadside. All day long, through that stern fight, that signal, simple yet significant, flew from the masthead of the heroic leader. Never was the need greater that every man should do his duty, and nobly they responded to the appeal.

So well concentrated was the enemy's fire upon the space between the first and second barriers, that the Plover and Opossum appeared to be struck by every shot directed at them. The flag-ship was especially aimed at. Within twenty minutes both these vessels had so many men killed and wounded, and were so shattered, as to be almost silenced. Lieutenant-Commander Rason, of the Plover, was cut in two by a round-shot. Captain

M'Kenna, of the 1st Royals, on the Admiral's staff, was killed early, and the Admiral himself was grievously injured by a gun-shot in the thigh. The Lee and Haughty, under Lieutenant-Commanders W. H. Jones and G. Broad, now weighed, by signal, and advanced to the support of the Admiral.

The shattered Plover almost drifted out of her honourable position, having only nine men left efficient out of her original crew of forty. The Admiral, in spite of wounds and loss of blood, transferred his flag to the Opossum, and the battle raged furiously on either hand. A little after three o'clock, the Admiral received a second wound, a round-shot knocking away some chainwork by which he was supporting himself in a conspicuous position, and the fall breaking several of his ribs. The Opossum had by this time become so disabled, that it was necessary to drop her outside the iron piles of the first barrier, where both she and the Plover received fresh crews from the reserve force, and again advanced to take their share in the fight.

No false impression now existed in the mind of any one as to the work they had in hand, or the amount of resistance they had to overcome. Retreat was disgrace, and in all probability total destruction; for the bar would be impassable long before the vessels could reach it—and who was going to think of retreat thus early? who wanted to be hooted at by all the world as men who fled before a Chinaman? No, strip and fight it out, was the general feeling from captain to boy, and, in a frenzy of delight with their chief, they went into their work like men, who, if they could not com-

mand success, would at any rate show that they deserved it.

A pall of smoke hung over the British flotilla and the forts of Taku; under it flashed sharp and vividly the red fire of the combatants; the roar of great guns, the shriek of rockets, and rattle of rifles, was constant. No missile could fail to reach its mark; the dull *thung* of the enemy's shot as it passed through a gunboat's side, the crash of woodwork, the whistle of heavy splinters of wood or iron, the screams of the wounded, and the moans of the dying, mingled with the shouts of the combatants and the sharp decisive orders of the officers—all were "fighting their best!" And it was a close hug indeed, for the advanced vessels were firing at 150 yards' range, and the maximum distance was only 800 yards. Every officer and man rejoiced in this fact; for, forgetful of the enormous thickness of the parapets opposed to them, our gallant sailors fancied that it all was in favour of a race who had never been excelled in a stanch fight at close quarters. The Lee and Haughty were now suffering much; the fire of the forts had been most deadly, and was in every respect as accurate as ours. The Admiral, in his barge, although fainting from loss of blood, pulled to these vessels, to show the crews how cheerfully he shared the full dangers of their position; and they who advocate a British commander-in-chief being in the rear, instead of, as Nelson and Collingwood ever placed themselves, in the van of battle, ought to have witnessed the effect of Hope's heroic example upon the men under him that day; even the wounded were more patient and enduring owing to such an example.

By four o'clock the Lee had a hole knocked into her side below the bow-gun, out of which a man could have crawled: both she and the Haughty had all their boats and topworks knocked to pieces, and many shot had passed through below the water-line, owing to the plunging fire of the forts: their crews were going down fast; and the space between the first and second barriers was little better than a slaughter-house from the storm of the enemy's missiles, which in front and on both flanks swept over it. The Admiral had fainted, and was being taken to the rear for medical aid by his gallant secretary, Mr Ashby, when he recovered sufficiently to order the barge to conduct him to the most advanced vessel in the line. That post was now held by the Cormorant, Commander Wodehouse; for the Lee and Haughty had been obliged to retire for reinforcement and support. On board the Cormorant the flag of the Commander-in-Chief was hoisted; and he, though constantly fainting from loss of blood, was laid in his cot upon the deck to witness the battle, which still raged with unremitting ardour upon both sides, fresh guns' crews being brought up from the rear to replace the killed and wounded on board the gunboats.

First excitement had been succeeded by cool determination, and the men fought deliberately, with set teeth and compressed lips: there was no flinching the fight, there were no skulkers; and had there been any, there was no safety anywhere inside the bar of the Peiho: blood was up, and all fought to win or fall: even the poor little powder-boys did not drop their powder-boxes and try to seek shelter, but wept as they

thought of their mothers, or of their playmates Dick or Bob who had just been killed beside them, and, with tears pouring down their powder-begrimed countenances, rushed to and from the magazines with nervous energy. "You never see'd any fighting like this at Greenwich School, eh, Bobby?" remarked a kind-hearted marine to a boy who was crying, and still exerting himself to the utmost. "No! Bombardier," said the lad, "but don't let them Chinamen thrash us!" Schoolboy pluck shone through the novel horrors of a sea-fight.

The enemy, whoever they were, Mantchous, Mongols, or men from the Amour, fought admirably and cleverly. We have every goodwill towards the Mongolian Prince Sungolosin: we are quite ready to allow that, though at the head of the ultra-conservatism of China, and representative of that formidable section who prefer fighting Europeans to submitting to their demands, he yet may be a progressionist in the art of attack and defence. Nevertheless it does startle us to find that, between July 1858 and June 1859, Prince Sungolosin should have learnt to construct forts and block up a river upon the most approved principles of European art; that, for the first time, the embrasures were so arranged as to concentrate a fire of guns upon particular points; that mantlets, hereafter to be described, improvements upon those used at the great siege of Sebastopol, were fitted to every casemated gun; that guns in the bastions swept the face of the curtains; that the "*cheeks*" and "*soles*" of the embrasures were most scientifically constructed with a view to direction of fire; that reserve supplies of guns and carriages had been provided to replace those

dismounted or disabled by our fire; and lastly, that the reinforcements were so cleverly masked, that our gunboats could only see that, as fast as they swept away a gun and crew in the fort with a well-directed shell, a fresh gun and fresh men were soon found to have replaced them; and we must distinctly express our firm belief, that upon all these points the Chinese received counsel and instruction subsequent to the signing of the Treaty of Tientsin, from Europeans, whether priests or officers matters little; and that, during that fight of the 25th June, it was evident to all who had ever fought Asiatics, that no ordinary tactician was behind those earthworks.

As the tide fell, so the fire of the forts became more plunging and destructive, whilst our gunners, though quite close, had to *aim upward* at the enemy. The experience of Sebastopol has shown that a horizontal fire will not dislodge a brave opponent from behind earthworks; of course it would be much less likely to do so when the assailants were so low as to have to fire in an oblique direction upward; and such was the relative position of the two antagonists at Taku. The body of the forts was soon found to be invulnerable, and the embrasures alone were left as targets to our gunboats. Those on the cavaliers were subjected to a terribly accurate fire, yet, strange to say, the guns at these points were seldom silenced for any length of time. The Cormorant's bow-gun, on one occasion, in four successive shots, fairly knocked over the three guns in the face of the cavalier of the centre bastion; the whole squadron witnessed the fact, and saw the guns and crews shattered

by the terrific effect of her solid 68-pounders—yet in a quarter of an hour other guns were there, and stinging away as waspishly as ever.

At 4.20 P.M. the Admiral was obliged to yield to the entreaties of the medical men, and to the faintness arising from loss of blood: he handed over the immediate command of the squadron to the second in seniority, Captain Shadwell, who, supported by Captain Willes and Captain Nicholas Vansittart, carried on the battle.

Of the individual acts of valour and devotion with which such a combat is replete, how many escape observation!—whilst the mention of others often gives pain to the modest men, to whom we would fain do honour. At any risk, however, we must narrate an anecdote or two, illustrative of the zeal and devotion displayed in this glorious fight.

When the Cormorant's bow-gun did the good service of silencing, in four shots, the centre cavalier, the Admiral, lying on his cot, was so struck with the accuracy of the aim that he immediately sent an aide-de-camp forward to obtain the name of the captain of the gun. The messenger found worthy Corporal Giles* at the full extent of his trigger-line, the gun loaded and run out; his whole mind was intent upon one object—hitting his enemy. "Muzzle right!" said the honest marine. "Who fired those shots?" interposed the messenger; "the Admiral wants to know." "Well!" shouted the man to his crew, adding, "I did, sir" (to the officer).

* We regret that we do not know the proper name of this gallant marine.

"Elevate!" "What's your name?" rejoined the messenger. "John Giles," said the marine, leaning back, shutting one eye, and looking along the sights of the gun, his left hand going up mechanically to the salute—"John Giles, corporal." "Well!" (this to the crew)—"Second company" (to the officer)—"Ready!—Woolwich division!—Fire! Sponge and load!—I beg your pardon, sir—No. 1275." We need not add that the worthy corporal was far more intent upon his work than mindful of the kind compliment his Admiral was paying him, and his best reward was the hurrah of his gunmates as they watched the shot plunge into the enemy's embrasure.

"Opossum ahoy!" hails a brother gunboat captain; "do you know your stern-frame is all on fire?"—for smoke and flame were playing round one end of the little craft, whilst from the other she was spitefully firing upon the foe. "Bother the fire!" was the rejoinder; "I am not going to knock off pitching into these blackguards for any burning stern-posts. No men to spare, old boy!"

"Werry hard hit, sir!" remarks the boatswain of the Lee to her gallant commander; "the ship is making a deal of water, and won't float much longer; the donkey-engines and pumps don't deliver one bucket of water for ten as comes into her!" "Cannot do more than we are doing," replies the commander—"it is impossible to get at the shot-holes from inside, and I will not *order* men to dive outside with shot-plugs, in this strong tide-way, and whilst I am compelled to keep the propeller revolving."

"There's no other way to keep the ship afloat, sir," urged Mr Woods; "and if you please, sir, I'd like to go about that ere job myself."

"As you volunteer, I'll not object, Woods," said Lieutenant Jones,* "but remember it is almost desperate work; you see how the tide is running, and that I must keep screwing ahead to maintain station. You have the chance of being drowned, and if caught by the screw, you are a dead man."

"Well, sir," said Woods, looking as bashful as if sueing for some great favour, "I knows all that; and as far as chances of death go, why, it is 'much of a muchness' everywhere just now; and if you will keep an eye upon me, I'll try what can be done."

Woods accordingly brought up a bag of seaman's clothes, tore it open, wrapped frocks and trousers round wooden shot-plugs, tied a rope's-end round his waist, and dived under the bottom of the Lee to stop up the shot-holes. Again and again the gallant fellow went down, escaping from the stroke of the screw as if by a miracle; for he often came up astern at the full length of his line, having been swept there by the tide. His exertions, however, were not successful, although he stopped as many as twenty-eight shot-holes; and the noble little Lee was soon found to be in a sinking condition.

The Kestrel, with colours flying, and still fighting under the gallant Lieut.-Commander Bevan, went down in her station at 5.40 P.M., and affairs began to look very serious; yet the last thing thought of was defeat.

One gunboat swings end on to a raking battery, and a

* The present Commander Jones-Birom.

shot immediately sweeps away all the men from one side of her bow-gun, as if a scythe had passed through them. "This is what they call a ratification, Billy! ain't it?" remarks the captain of the gun to one of the survivors; and raising his right arm, red with the blood of his slaughtered comrades, he cursed in coarse but honest phrase the folly and false humanity which in the previous year had allowed these mandarins to march off almost unscathed, "whilst we was a-*looting* brass-guns for the Tooleries" (Tuileries).

Phirr! came along a bar-shot, and a mass of woodwork and splinters knocked over and almost buried a commander and master of one of the gunboats. The remaining officer, a warrant-officer, rushes up and pulls them out from under the wreck. Though severely bruised, neither was, happily, killed. "All right, I hopes, sir!" rubbing them down—"legs all sound, sir!—ah! you will get your wind directly—but you *must* keep moving, sir; if you don't, they're sure to hit you. I was just telling the chaps forward the same thing—shot never hits a lively man, sir—and, dear me, don't they work our bow-gun beautifully—that's right, lads! that's right!" urged the enthusiastic gunner—"keep her going! Lor! if old Hastings* could have seen that shot, Jim, he'd have given you nothing to do at the *Admiralty* for all the rest of your born days."

Thus manfully went the fight; explosions occurred now and then in the works, but nothing to indicate a destruction of any of the garrisons—the two black flags

* A very irreverent allusion to Admiral Sir Thomas Hastings, who inaugurated the present excellent system of naval gunnery.

in the upper battery still waved gently in the light air, and no sign of surrender or distress appeared on the Chinese side, except that all the embrasures showed what a severe punishment must have been inflicted upon the men working the guns within them; and there seemed to be an inclination to cease firing upon the part of the enemy, or only to fire in a deliberate and desultory manner. Exhaustion was beginning to tell upon our men, just at the time that the shattered condition of the vessels called for most exertion.

By six o'clock all probability of forcing the barriers with the flotilla was at an end. The Kestrel was sunk, and the Lee obliged to run on the mud to prevent her going down in deep water; many other vessels were filling owing to shot-holes—the Starling and Banterer aground—Plover disabled; and if the Nimrod or Cormorant, by any accident to their anchors or cables, fell across the stream, the channel would be blocked up, and all the squadron be lost. The senior officers saw that nothing now remained but to withdraw, if it were possible, the squadron from the fight; the difficulties, however, in the way of such a manœuvre were almost insuperable. It wanted yet nearly two hours before darkness would set in—the passage over the bar could not be effected before dark, on account of high water not occurring until midnight—the night was moonless—the probabilities great against the vessels being able to find their way in the dark, down so narrow and tortuous a channel—and so long as the vessels remained within the bar, so long also must they be within range of those hard-hitting long guns, of the effects of which they had

had that day such bitter experience. The reserve force of 600 fresh men had not yet been brought into action—they begged to be allowed to retrieve the trembling fortunes of the day; even the crews of the sinking gunboats only asked to be allowed to land and grapple with the foe, who skulked behind his earthworks, whilst they (stripped to their trousers) had fought upon their exposed and open decks. There was yet another reason, which doubtless had its weight: out of the 1100 men and officers selected by the Admiral from his fleet to carry out the service which the representative of his Sovereign had called upon him to execute, only twenty-five were killed and ninety-three wounded at 6.20 P.M., after four hours' close hard fighting. That loss was simply insufficient to justify any officer in acknowledging himself thoroughly beaten, or in abandoning an enterprise.

Spectators upon the bar may say, after the result, that they saw within ten minutes of the action being commenced that the British would not succeed. It would have been an evil day for Admiral James Hope and his captains, had such an idea entered their heads at so early an hour. It is true, they felt that they had been inveigled into an ambush, but inasmuch as they went into it having taken every precaution against surprise, and prepared for battle, it remained alone for them to fight it out, and trust to their God for victory in a good cause.

The gallant-hearted Vansittart urged one last bold stroke to retrieve the honours of the day, and at any rate to save, if possible, the entire squadron from destruction. Captains Shadwell and Willes concurred in this view, though they knew well it was a neck-or-nothing

attempt—in short, a forlorn hope, which might succeed, if once fairly hand to hand with the enemy; but at any rate, the least sanguine argued, the attempt would divert the fire from the shattered flotilla, and allow night to close in, and afford an opportunity of saving all the vessels from destruction.

And let any one weigh well what would have been the effect, throughout the seaports of China, to our countrymen and commerce, had those gallant officers lost all that squadron, as we believe they would have done in attempting a retreat at that juncture. The ingenious tactics of the enemy afforded just then an illusory ground for hope of a successful issue to an assault: they assumed the appearance of being silenced in many quarters, and only worked a gun here and there. An assault and escalade were at once ordered; the Opossum went to the rear, and, aided by the generous sympathy of the American Flag-Officer Tatnall—who, in his steamer the Toey-wan, assisted very materially—the boats filled with the marines and small-arm men were brought up to the front.

At about seven o'clock, Captains Shadwell and Vansittart, Major Fisher, R.E., Colonel Lemon, R.M., Commanders John Commerell and W. A. J. Heath, and Commandant Tricault of the Imperial navy, headed this forlorn hope of seamen, sappers, and marines, their march across the mud being directed upon the outer bastion of the Grand Fort, as it appeared to have suffered most from the fire of our vessels. The cheers of the excited crews of the gunboats, the revived fire of the flotilla, and the dash of the boats to the point of disembarkation,

warned the enemy but too well of the intended assault; and, to the astonishment of the assailants, from every work, every gun, and every loophole, a terribly destructive fire opened upon our devoted men as they waded through the deep and tenacious mud. In spite of shot, grape, rifle-balls, gingalls, and arrows, the party, six hundred strong, formed a solid mass, and pressed forward, whilst close over their heads flew the covering-shots of their brethren in our vessels. It was a terribly magnificent sight to see that dark mass of gallant men reeling under the storm of missiles, yet, like a noble bark, against adverse wind and sea, still advancing towards its destination. Officers and men fell rapidly—Shadwell, Vansittart, and Lemon were soon badly wounded, and many a man fell grievously injured in the deep mud, to be quickly covered by the flowing tide; yet there was no lack of leaders—no hesitation in the dauntless survivors. It must be acknowledged that the garrison showed no want of skill or bravery; for in spite of the fire of the gunboats, they crowded upon the parapets and embrasures, and opened a withering fire of musketry upon our men. At last a bank covered with rushes was reached—Commerell, Heath, Fisher, and Parke still headed the devoted band, and they dashed into the first ditch, leaving, however, a very large proportion of killed and wounded strewn along their path. The flotilla had now to cease firing upon the point of assault, lest it should injure friends instead of foes; and the excitement of the gun-crews may be imagined, as they saw the night closing round their comrades wrapt in the blaze of the enemy's fire, and heard the exultant yells of the

garrison, and marked the faint and desultory cheers and ill-sustained reply of the assailants. It was with difficulty that they could in some cases be restrained from rushing to join the good or evil fortune of the fray; five hours' fighting had made all indifferent to life.

As one gunboat went down, the crew modestly suggested to the commander, that as they could do no more good in her, it would be as well "to go over the mud and join our chaps on shore!" It is not fair to say such men can be beaten; all had become imbued with the heroic spirit of their chief—the infection had even spread to the American boats' crews. The calculating long-backed diplomatists of the United States, who had sent their Admiral and Envoy to reap the advantages for which Englishmen were fighting and dying, forgot that there were certain promptings of the heart which override all selfish considerations; and that, in short, as Flag-Officer Tatnall observed, "blood is thicker than water," ay, than ink either. An American boat visited one of our vessels, and on wishing to leave her, the officer found all his men had got out of the boat. After some delay they were found looking very hot, smoke-begrimed, and *fightish*. "Halloa, sirs," said the officer, with assumed severity, "don't you know we are neutrals? What have you been doing?" "Begs pardon," said the gallant fellows, looking very bashful; "they were very short-handed at the bow-gun, sir, and so we give'd them a help for fellowship sake;" they had been hard at it for an hour. Gallant Americans! you and your admiral did more that day to bind England and the

United States together, than all your lawyers and petti-fogging politicians have ever done to part us.

The issue of the assault was not long doubtful after crossing the first or tidal ditch, and wading through some yards of perfect quagmire; beyond it, another deep wet ditch was found, into which about two hundred men and officers recklessly dashed, wetting ammunition and muskets; only fifty of them, however, headed by Commanders Commerell, Heath, Captain Fisher, R.E., and Commander Tricault, of the Imperial navy, reached the base of the works; the rest, 150 in number, of the survivors in the advanced party, lined the edge of the wet ditch. Every attempt to bring up scaling-ladders resulted in the destruction of the party, and the garrison threw out light-balls, by which they could see to slay the unfortunate men outside the forts. The English were diminishing rapidly; there was no reserve or supports available; and at last, with deep reluctance, the leaders of this gallant band sent word to the senior officer afloat "that they could, if he pleased, hold their position in the ditches until daylight; but that it was impossible to storm without reinforcements."

The order was therefore given for a retreat; and in the words of Admiral Hope, this difficult operation, in the face of a triumphant enemy, was carried out with a deliberation and coolness equal to the gallantry with which the advance had been accomplished. The last men to leave the blood-stained banks of the Peiho, after having saved every wounded man that could be recovered, were the two gallant commanders, Commerell and Heath; and the severity of the enemy's fire upon this assaulting-

party is best shown by the fact, that out of about six hundred men and officers, sixty-four were killed, and two hundred and fifty-two were wounded.

The management of the retreat devolved upon the able flag-captain, J. O. Willes—a most trying and anxious duty; for the enemy opened a perfect *feu de-joie* from all sides, upon vessels and boats, and for a while threatened total destruction to the force. By 1.30 A.M. on the 26th the survivors of the forlorn-hope were embarked, and the process of dropping out the gunboats commenced, with, however, but very partial success. The scene was terribly grand; the night was dark, the sea and land veiled in gloom, except where the fire-balls of the enemy and the flash of his guns brought out the forts and shattered flotilla in striking relief; the turbid stream, pent up in its channel by the wreck of sunken vessels and the Chinese barriers, chafed and whirled angrily past the repulsed ships, bearing on its bosom the wreck of the combat and the corpses of the dead. The moans of the wounded, the shouts of officers, the frequent strokes of boats' oars, alternated with the roar of cannon and the exultant yells of the victorious garrison. But there was a still more thrilling sight—that on the decks of the Coromandel, where the gallant Admiral, and Captains Shadwell, Vansittart,* and Colonel Lemon, lay surrounded by their dying and wounded followers. Nothing that medical foresight could provide to alleviate mortal suffering was wanting; yet their agonies were terrible to con-

* The gallant Vansittart died subsequently; and we have to lament the loss of another officer, Commander Arinne Wodehouse, H.M.S. Cormorant, who recently succumbed to a fever, brought on by the exposure and anxiety on that day.

template. The deck was lighted up with every available candle and lantern, aided by which the surgical operations were being carried on as rapidly as possible. A pile of dead, covered with the flag for which they had fought so well, awaited decent interment on the morrow. The medical officers, after sharing in all the dangers and labours of the day, now called to renewed exertion on behalf of suffering humanity, were to be seen exerting themselves with a zeal and solicitude as remarkable as the magnificent bearing of the poor fellows who, with shattered limbs, awaited their turn for amputation: it was, indeed, a scene of epic grandeur and solemnity.

We could fill a volume with anecdotes of calm endurance and heroism, which were almost childlike in their simplicity—of the poor foretopman who, mortally wounded, was laid by his kind commander upon the sofa in his cabin, and as his life-blood oozed away, modestly expressed his regret at "doing so much injury to such pretty cushions!"—of the old quartermaster, whose whole shoulder and ribs had been swept away by a round-shot, and during the few hours prior to death expressed it as his opinion, that "them Chinamen hit hardish," and had only one anxiety—"whether the Admiralty would pay his wife for the loss of his kit?" But we need not, we feel assured, dwell upon such traits to enlist the sympathy of our countrymen on behalf of the men who fought so well, yet lost the day, at Taku.

One fact struck every one—and it is a fact of which Admiral Hope may well be proud—that from the lips of those shattered men and officers there arose no com-

plaint of having been wantonly sacrificed or misled; and had it been otherwise, the anguish of the moment would assuredly have wrung it from their lips, and yet have met with kindly pardon. All acknowledged themselves thoroughly beaten in the fight, yet every mouth rang with praises of the leader who had set them such an example; and had Admiral Hope next day called for volunteers to renew the fight, desperate as such a measure might have been deemed, there was not one of the remnant of his force that would not again have cheerfully followed him. A repulse arising from the blunders of a leader never meets such sympathy. Officers and men knew all had been done as they themselves would have suggested, had they been consulted. The Admiral had exhibited foresight, audacity, and gallant perseverance. They were ready to follow such a man to the death. Had he turned back without testing the foe, and endeavouring to take the forts, every man's tongue would have railed at him, and all England would have stamped him an incompetent leader.

The survivors knew that they had been partially entrapped, and had had to fight far more than mere Chinamen; and if defeated, they could point to their sinking vessels, to a loss in killed and wounded of 434 officers and men out of 1100 combatants, and ask their countrymen if they had not done their duty. Assuredly they had: no men could have done more. Nelson's repulse at Teneriffe was not more glorious or less bloody. Yet be it remembered, and our cheeks ought to burn with shame at the recital, that for this most gallant deed of arms, so replete with chivalrous bravery and devotion to

Great Britain, not a single honour or promotion has been publicly awarded. At Sebastopol it was far otherwise. Honours were showered there on a repulsed fleet and army on more than one occasion.

There was no rest for any during that sad night of the 25th June; and daylight still found the exhausted officers and men endeavouring to save the flotilla, and place the wounded out of reach of the deadly fire of the forts. That we were thoroughly beaten back, there could be no question; even the sturdy seamen and marines, begrimed with powder, blood, and mud, rubbed their heads, and owned it had been "a mortal thrashing;" yet shook their horny fists, and looked defiance at the rascals, be they whoever they were, behind those invulnerable parapets of mud. The sun rose on a shattered squadron. The mastheads of the Lee and Kestrel were alone visible; they had been fought until they sank beneath their gallant crews. The Cormorant, in an attempt to drop out, fell across channel, got aground, and had to be temporarily abandoned to save unnecessary loss of life; the Haughty was sinking—the Plover and Starling ashore under the batteries, and abandoned by the small surviving portion of their crews; in short, the only vessels in safety at daylight were the Nimrod, Banterer, Forester, Opossum, and Janus—six out of the eleven vessels which went into action were thus sunk or disabled. The condition of the *personnel* in the squadron equally well proved the stubbornness of the fight. Lieut.-Commanders Rason and Clutterbuck; Captain M'Kenna, 1st Royals; Lieuts. Graves, Wolridge, and Inglis; Mr Herbert, midshipman—were killed in

action. The Admiral, Captains Shadwell and Vansittart, Colonel Lemon, R.M., and the Rev. H. Huleatt, chaplain, as well as a sad list of subordinates,* were of the severely wounded: in short, of the heads of the executive, Captain Willes (Flag-Captain), and Major Fisher, R.E., were the only two not wounded; and of the entire force, which never had more than eleven hundred men in action, the killed amounted to eighty-nine, and the wounded to three hundred and forty-five in number, or a total loss of four hundred and thirty-four. The French, out of their petty contingent, consisting of the officers and crew of the Duchayla, had four killed and ten wounded, amongst the latter the gallant Commandant Tricault, who had stood throughout the day in the foremost of the fight.

British Forces actually Engaged.
11 Vessels—1100 Men.

Losses—of Vessels.

Sunk.	Disabled.	Much Damaged.
3	4	3

Losses of Men and Officers.

Killed.	Wounded.	Surviving.
89	345	660

Directly it was light enough to work, Captain Willes proceeded to save as many of the abandoned vessels as possible, and to blow up or destroy those that could not be saved. Although the enemy made deliberate and telling practice at the men so employed, the surviving

* Lieutenant Buckle, R.N.; Lieutenant G. Longley, R.E.; Captain Masters, R.M.; Lieutenant Crawford, R.M.A.; Mr Burniston, master, R.N.; Messrs Smith, Powlett, and Armytage, midshipmen; Mr Ryan, gunner—were returned amongst the dangerously wounded.

officers and men succeeded in recovering three of the sunk and abandoned vessels, and those that could not be carried off—the Cormorant, Lee, and Plover—were destroyed and rendered worthless to the enemy as trophies of their victory.

Apart from the forts keeping up an excellent fire upon our men, large working parties covered the face of their works, and rapidly repaired the damage done to the parapets, embrasures, and mantlets, by our fire on the 25th; and during the next two or three successive nights, the enemy kept a most vigilant look-out, and often lighted up the front of the batteries with fire-balls, in anticipation of another night-assault.

The mantlets alluded to were so striking an innovation in Chinese warfare, and reminded many so painfully of the bitter siege of Sebastopol, that we must describe them, leaving others to conjecture how the slow-marching Chinamen should have suddenly learnt to apply them so ingeniously and successfully to the forts of Taku. They were quite worthy of imitation in our own fortifications, and the cleverness with which they were worked deserved much praise.

They were of stout wood, covered externally with a wattling of rattans, so as to be rifle-proof. The mantlet worked on hinges or rollers fitted to the outer and lower edge of the embrasures, and was triced up or lowered down by means of lines leading upward through the parapet on each side of the gun. When closed up, the casemated embrasures were not easily detected in the smoke of action, and the gun was loaded and laid point-blank before being run out. Directly all was ready,

down went the mantlet, out ran the gun; a shot was fired into the mass of vessels, and as the gun recoiled the mantlet went up again with such expedition that our men required sharp eyes to detect which of the enemy's embrasures was firing, and ought next to be silenced. Had they been fitted to the upper port or embrasure sill, any accident to the lanyard would have caused them to fall down and block up the gun-port, so that they would have to be blown away to enable the gun to work; but placed as they were, by attaching the lanyards to the gun-carriage, as the piece recoiled it closed its own mantlet, and if the lines were shot away, the mantlet merely fell down, and left the gun to fight in an ordinary embrasure.

Such were some of the obstacles—such was the fight and repulse, of the Peiho! It needs no comment, and tells its own tale of foresight in attack, perseverance when engaged, and heroic efforts to win that victory which England justly claims, and for which these men nobly laid down their lives.

Never did our navy adventure more to merit success, and assuredly it will be an evil hour for our country if her admirals, alarmed by the censure which falls upon defeat, hesitate to risk an action until a victory is assured. There has been too much of that feeling in the present day, and it is the nation's interest to purge an evil that

"doth affect
The very life-blood of *naval* enterprise."

THE END.

NARRATIVES

OF

VOYAGE AND ADVENTURE

BY

SHERARD OSBORN, C.B.

CAPTAIN ROYAL NAVY

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOL. III.

QUEDAH

A CRUISE IN JAPANESE WATERS

THE FIGHT ON THE PEIHO

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS

EDINBURGH AND LONDON

MDCCCLXV

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